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ABSTRACT

This book concerns the experience of the author during two years (1966-68) as director of an Upward Bound program, which has the goal of helping poverty high school students gain admission to college. "Within two years I was to experience the immense satisfaction of sharing in a collaborative community of inquiry that was demonstrably generating new kinds of learning and new degrees of success for the students and staff. And I was also to experience the immense distress of a disintegrating community. Throughout this time I was trying to encourage a climate in which each could articulate his aims and receive feedback about his behavior and his effects on others. As the book shows, my theory about what it meant to organize a school collaboratively developed important new facets both during and after the program, eventuating in a theory of historical stages of development reported toward the end of the book. In the final chapters I return to a fuller sketch of the meaning of an approach to experience which [he] has termed 'inquiry-in-action' and 'action science.' I have relegated many traditional social science measuring techniques to relatively low visibility in this study, although interview results, questionnaire analyses, and behavior scoring schemes applied to taped conservations all appear at critical points to add persepective to the events." (Author/JM)

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CREATING A COMMUNITY OF INQUIRY:
CONFLICT, COLLABORATION, TRANSFORMATION

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March, 1973

CREATING A COMMUNITY OF INQUIRY:

CONFLICT, COLLABORATION, TRANSFORMATION

William R. Torbert

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INTRODUCTION

This book is about a school in struggle--a school trying to learn--a school trying to transform itself into a genuine community of inquiry--a school trying to change in pace with its members' changing understanding of its mission and of their own needs. The author of this book was no neutral observer, but rather the person who took the primary leadership role at the school. I, too, was in struggle, as many persons have been during the past decade, trying to determine how to lead well and where to lead, rather than assuming I knew all the answers to begin with.

In order to learn from this experience, we must recall the social context in which the school nested--the social context of the late Sixties. And we must also clarify how I can recount my experience in a way, both sufficiently objective and sufficiently subjective, that the reader can really learn something from it that applies to him or her. This introduction addresses these two issues.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

In the middle and late Sixties a great wave of fervor for "liberation" developed in this country, then curled, and broke against the established institutions.

This fervor generated vague but alluring visions of heightened personal independence within warmer, more participative, more responsive communities and a more just social structure. We all know bits and pieces of the details: whether we think of college graduates attracted to the early idealism, uncertainty, and excitement of the Peace Corps rather than making an immediate career commitment; or the community organizing of SLCC, SNCC, CORE, and the Black Panthers which widened into the Black Power Movement; or SDS; the Free Speech Movement; Vietnam Summer; draft resistance; the Merry Pranksters, Hippies, Yippies, and Diggers; Esalen and its offshoots; the new music and its groups; the new communes; mobilizing community participation through various O.E.O. projects; university reform movements; Woodstock; the Chicago Conspiracy; women's liberation; gay liberation; the Maharishi's movement; People's Park...

In the early Seventies this wave of fervor has receded again, leaving for many a taste of empty and futile bitterness in its wake. Sexual liberation too rarely resulted in true love; psychedelic liberation too rarely resulted in God-consciousness; political liberation too often resulted in Nixon.

The optimism of the middle Sixties has soured, and, indeed, appears shallow by contrast to the deep, silent pessimism that replaces it. Somehow we dangerously miscalculated; we miscalculated the distance to full independence and community, not envisioning the scale of learning required of each of us who would liberate himself or herself; and we miscalculated the antagonism we would arouse in "them"---- in those who chose to judge rather than to join the experiments.

All traditional sense of community is disintegrating today, and most self-conscious efforts toward more just arrangements founder too because members don't envision the scale of the commitment involved or don't yet possess the skills and awareness to learn from their difficulties together.

This afternoon, for example, I talked with a young inner city teacher from a white working class background who bemoaned the sense of boredom and despair which he encounters around his neighborhood both among his childhood friends now layed off from work and among his present students.

Then I spoke with a courageous but exhausted woman who, having found through interviews that persons in her affluent suburb felt isolated and alienated, tried to organize some groups in which these people could clarify and improve their experience, only to find very little response.

Then I heard a black consultant speak about how the new towns now being built outside major cities do not pay sufficient attention to developing racial and economic balance, thus becoming nothing more than subsidized suburbs, reinforcing rather than altering the divisions in our society.

These are merely random examples of the disintegration of traditional communities and the failure of new experiments in community. We know almost nothing about the dynamics of organizing self-conscious, intentional communities (though Kanter's recent Commitment and Community [1972] is helpful in this regard. Yet, given today's transience and today's communications, there is no way of recreating traditional communities based on unquestioned custom. Therefore, we must choose between chaos, repression or a new kind of community in which personal inquiry, growth, and liberation are reconciled with common celebration, ritual and commitment.

If we know little in a theoretical sense about the dynamics of such communities, we practice what little we know even less. This is so because very few of us are motivated, or able, to look at our own behavior closely and objectively enough to tell whether we are actually doing what we say we would like to do in theory. We may be able to see the contradiction between another's theories and practices--as when one person insists that everybody participate equally in decisions -- but we are more likely to avoid seeing such contradictions in ourselves.

In this book I try to look closely at my own and other's behavior as we attempted to build a microcosm of a community during two summer sessions of a residential school in the 1960's. I do so in the hope that others can learn with me from its successes and failures about the scale and the difficulty and the dignity of building communities of inquiry.

THREE APPROACHES TO EXPERIENCE

As I see it, we now have three choices about how to treat the traumatic experiences of the Sixties, which everyone in our society participated in and was affected by to some degree or other. On the one hand, we can try to disregard the experience altogether. Although this choice is obviously foolish, since we thereby lose the chance to learn from our experience and since the undigested remnants of the experience will poison our future lives despite our overt forgetfulness, we must acknowledge that in our day to day life forgetfulness is our most common choice. So quick and so deeply habitual is our forgetfulness that we do not commonly experience our own behavior even as we are enacting it and are consequently surprised and shocked when we are told how others perceive us, or when we hear how we behaved on a tape recording.

Just this common forgetfulness is what made watching the TV documentary "The American Family" such an eerie experience. We cringed, caught in the agonizing bind of being re-minded of how un-mindful we are of our day-to-day experience. For just as the Loud family often acted excruciatingly bored and boring--its members excrutiatingly out of contact with their own and one another's experience--so are we out of contact with our own moment-to-moment lives. To be brought into contact with this essential quality of them and of ourselves is to bring the agony to awareness. We would prefer not to bear this agony consciously. We would prefer to be out of contact with it--to be forgetful and thus bored. And then we try to forget our very boredom with fantasies of riskless and painless excitement.

A second choice of how to treat the experience of the middle and late Sixties is to detach ourselves from it, intending to rise above it dispassionately and gain some distance from it by gathering information about it and criticizing it. An excellent recent exmaple of this choice is the research effort of Christopher Jencks and his colleagues, reported in the book Inequality (1972). Marshalling impressive arrays of quantitative data by means of painstaking analysis , Jencks and his colleagues show that neither conventional nor compensatory education has had the effect of systematically increasing persons' income levels in their subsequent careers. The book effectively destroys the widely held myth, which has influenced innumerable personal and policy decisions in the past decade, that more education yields more income in a general way.

What Inequality does not, and cannot by its very nature, do is to give us any insight or direction about how to increase persons' earning capacity, or how more justly to distribute existing income. Likewise and more germane to my own work here, Inequality does not and cannot give us any insight or direction about what good education consists of, or about how to improve existing education.

In short, Inequality cannot give us any insight or direction about how-to-act-better-next-time. It cannot do so because it lacks three qualities co-equally necessary in order to learn how to act better next time--a lack characteristic not just of this study but of contemporary social science in general, with its ideal of detached, dispassionate, cognitive, critical knowledge.*

These three coequally necessary qualities for learning-from-experience-so-as-to-be-able-to-act-better-next-time seem to me to be:

(1) a notion of the actors' initial aims and normative theories about how to improve the described situation;

(2) measures that determine (a) whether the actor behaves the way his theory suggests he should, and (b) whether such behavior actually has the effects his theory predicts;

(3) a record of the inner and outer aspects of the experience, more complete than any particular pre-conceived measures, to which participants or other interested persons can refer to find out what else besides the predicted variables were operating in the experience.

A notion of the actors' initial aims is necessary because if we do not know what the various actors intended to do in a situation, we cannot tell in any di way whether they succeeded or failed. Moreover, without knowing their initial aims

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* I should acknowledge the difficulty of justly characterizing "contemporary social science in general" at a time when it is changing so rapidly. Many social scientists have joined the critique of the "orthodox" paradigm. Indeed, initial responses by my professional colleagues to my recent attempt to outline and exemplify an alternative paradigm in Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness have been most positive. Moreover, I have been surprised several times in visiting graduate courses in research methodology by how different the spirit and focus is today, compared to the course I took only seven years ago.

aims and action theories, we cannot later specify whether the experience shows some aspects of their theories to have been mistaken and to require revision. Measures of the actors' actual behavior are necessary because the actors may not have the effects they initially intended to, not because their theory is mistaken, but rather because their behavior fails to implement their theory. A record of the experience more complete than any particular measures is necessary because otherwise in the event of failure we can at best learn only that the actors failed and at what point in the chain from aim to theory to behavior to effect they erred. We cannot tell what important variables were not accounted for. A more complete record of the experience can be searched for clues toward a more complete theory of action, and this in turn makes it possible to "act better next time".

We can now apply these three qualities requisite for learning-from-experience-so-as-to-be-able-to-act-better-next-time to Inequality. First, Inequality provides no evidence about educators' aims, nor does the book itself advance a systematic action theory.* Second, the book presents no direct data regarding anyone's behavior, but only data regarding the social results of persons' behavior (such as how long they stay in school or how much they earn). Third, the book provides no record of experience except for pre-conceived measures. Consequently, the book can only legitimately tell us whether its preconceived measures are significantly correlated to one another or not. In the event of "significant" results, it could not have told us what sort of action theory and what sort of behavior effected the "significant" results. Nor, given the actual findings that there is no significant relationship between increasing education and increasing income, can the book suggest to us what education _is_ related to, for the authors can refer to no more complete record of experience for such alternative hypotheses.

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* It merely mentions utilitarianism as a guiding philosophy.

With regard to schools, _Inequality_ is a valid criticism of current education only to the degree that educators aim to increase income and to the degree that educators systematically implemented this intention.* The familiar posters in subways and school guidance offices advertising how much higher students' later incomes will be if they stay in school or continue toward a higher degree seem evidence enough of both intention and implementation. But neither this intention nor particular others such as increasing students' cognitive achievement (which _Inequality_ also measures) may exhaust educators' intentions. Thus schools may be succeeding in achieving many aims which _Inequality_ does not measure. Jencks made no attempt to determine what all the aims of education are or ought to be. Therefore, _Inequality_ should not be interpreted as an utter condemnation of schools.

Indeed, despite the impression of many that _Inequality_ utterly condemns past educational efforts, Jencks himself denies this interpretation and suggests instead that to increase income is not a proper aim for education and, therefore, not finally a proper measure of whether education is successful.

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* _Inequality_ does examine the effect of education on other variables besides income, i.e., occupational status and cognitive achievement, and, thus, can be a valid criticism of other educational claims as well. My point here is that it can be a valid criticism only to the degree to which educators claim to accomplish what the study shows they don't. I concentrate on the relation of education to income because that is the main emphasis of the book.

In a different vein, the first requirement suggests that it would be inappropriate for me to criticize *Inequality* for not including the three qualities necessary for learning-from-experience-so-as-to-be-able-to-act-better-next-time unless Jencks and his colleagues intended to include them. On this point, it seems there was considerable unclarity. The study does not begin with a systematic elaboration of a normative theory of society or of education. Nor does it use measures related to any such systematic theory (instead it reviews measures used by many different persons with many different intentions). Nor, finally, does it provide any record of experience except for the quantitative results of measures.

On the other hand, at various points during the book suggestions are made about how to solve various educational questions, and at the end of the book Jencks suggests that a direct redistribution of income would be a better way than increased educational opportunity to raise the income of poor persons. *In the absence of normative theory, related measures, and recorded experience, these suggestions must be regarded as utterly subjective and unsubstantiated* and as belying either a confusion of original intention or behavior incongruent with the original intention. In a later response to critiques of *Inequality*, Jencks admits as much in a final phrase:

> The aim of the book was to show that one specific, widely-held theory about the relationship between school reform and social reform was wrong... The evidence in *Inequality* cannot carry us much further, *even though its rhetoric sometimes tries* (emphasis added) (1973, p. 164)

That Jencks and his colleagues should give way to the temptation to suggest courses of action on the basis of their analyses is not so surprising, for who is not at some level interested in the implications of social knowledge for more effective and more just social action? The dilemma is that what we tend to regard as scientific knowledge in our culture lacks the very qualities necessary to help us increase the effectiveness and the justice of our actions.

(Nor should it be surprising that the converse of this proposition is equally true: that what we tend to regard as effective action in our culture lacks the very qualities necessary for learning anything true from experience. For example, David Halberstam's recent best seller *The Best and the Brightest* (1972) about the actions of our top government officials throughout the Sixties in relation to the Vietnam War tells the story of a number of men who were widely presumed to be among the most competent and effective actors in our nation's history. Robert McNamara, with his background in both business and academia and his concern for both statistics and logic, probably best exemplifies the group of men for whom the book is named. Indeed, McNamara's *apparent* effectiveness probably helped to retard Congressional and national recognition of the *real ineffectiveness* of the war effort for some time. Halberstam's book reveals the degree to which this impressive, apparent effectiveness hid how unclear these men's intentions actually were. Moreover, they suppressed questions and distorted data relating to their intentions and actions in order to appear effective. The cultural norms, political pressures, and personal weaknesses that result in such strenuous efforts to appear effective, no matter what the truth of the situation is, obviously work against learning the truth and thus, ultimately, against really effective action. Such disregard for truth, and the injustice and ineffectiveness concomitant with this disregard, can masquerade as effectiveness in our nation's public life only because our criteria of effective action are so primitive. Too often we respond favorably to mere rhetorical effect in place of investigating -- and insisting that the public official in action investigate--the relation among his aim, theory, behavior, and effect.)

At first glance, the second choice we have for how to treat the experience of the middle and late Sixties--the choice to study it in a conventional scientific manner-- appeared to be the opposite of the first choice--the choice to forget the experience altogether. As we have examined more closely what this choice actually entails, however, we have found that it does not help us to learn-from-experience-how-to-act-better-next-time. Indeed, although by no means identical with the alternative of fantasy and forgetfulness, conventional science shares some of its foremost features, namely the alienation between thought and action and, in particular, forgetfulness about one's own present action.

INQUIRY-IN-ACTION

The third choice of how to treat the experience of the middle and late Sixties is to re-view the particular role each of us took at that time, sharing and elaborating insofar as possible the formative action aim and theory we committed ourselves to, describing our actual behavior and its effects as carefully as possible, alert to measures that verify or disconfirm the theory, and finally reformulating our aim, our theory, or our behavior so as to act better next time.

But the third choice implies more than this. It implies not merely that the actor becomes the scientist after the fact, reflecting back upon a certain action afterwards, but rather that actor and scientist are wedded in one person from the outset, valid knowledge and right action being indispensable to one another, inquiry-in-action and ultimately action science being the essence of just social process. This book and the action it reports seek to embody and express this third approach to experience.

It is difficult, however, to find other examples of thought and action which meet these criteria*. For example, Halberstam's book about the Kennedy and Johnson government's treatment of the Vietnam War does describe a lot of their actual behavior (presumably, though, on the basis of hearsay), but does not describe Halberstam's own aims and behavior. Thus, scientist (if we may call Halberstam that) and actor remain separate.

A closer union between action and science seems to be achieved by Moynihan in his book about the war on poverty, named Maximum Feasible Misunderstanding ( ). Moynihan himself was one of the original group under Shriver that devised the outlines of O.E.O., and in this book he reports that policy-making process, as well as the eventual implementation and the effect of the policy. However, whether because of the political delicacy of the issues he discusses, or because of the ordinary scientific convention of dissociating the researcher from his observations, or because of lack of awareness or a wish to preserve his own privacy, he does not report his own action aim, theory, and behavior. Thus, we are left with a book of the same ilk as Halberstam's (though without anything like its detail).

Chris Argyris' more scholarly and less well known book Intervention Theory and Method (1971) comes much closer to exemplifying the genre I am trying to define than the Halberstam and Moynihan books. In consulting to various kinds of organizations, Argyris has, over the years, researched not only their effectiveness but also his own interactions with them, gradually developing a theory of intervention and behavioral measures of effectiveness which he explicates in this book. Moreover, he combines action and science not only in the sense that he studies his own action but also in that the first canon of his action theory is to behave in such ways (which he defines very precisely) as to generate valid data with a client organization. He derives measures from his theory and also provides transcripts of actual conversations, so that there is at least some recorded experience beyond the specific measures for a reader to refer to. Finally, he provides examples of both effective and ineffective interventions, making very concrete the possibility of learning so-as-to-be-able-to-act-better-next-time.

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*In referring to the following works, I am using them to give some definition to a new genre, not to praise or castigate their scientific validity or artistic effectiveness.

Another and very different example of inquiry-in-action leading toward action science is Carlos Castaneda's trilogy about his experiences as an apprentice to an American Indian "sorcerer"--The Teaching of Don Juan (1968), A Separate Reality (1971), and Journey to Ixtlan (1972). Ironically, Castaneda began in the role of a conventional scientist, an anthropologist studying alien cultural practices. But it is Don Juan, Castaneda's "subject" or "informant," who turns out to be the real author-- the "man of knowledge" who helps Castaneda to study himself as an actor. Over time Castaneda gradually gains a sense of Don Juan's aim and theory of action, as well as its effects on Castaneda himself. Castaneda carefully records his own subective experience, his interactions with Don Juan, and Don Juan's words all the while. But after close to ten years of apprenticeship with Don Juan, new experiences force Castaneda to totally reevaluate the theory of action he had adduced up to that time. Fortunately, his record of experience was sufficiently full to permit him to return to his earliest experiences and reevaluate their significance (as he does in the third book, Journey to Ixtlan).

In conveying some feel for the genre of action science, I regard the work of Castaneda as an important balance to the work of Argyris. Whereas Argyrís conducts his research and action in extremely focused and tightly bounded conditions, specifying his theory and measures beforehand and acting in a clearly defined consultant role to organizations, the very process of focusing and the very nature of boundaries are constantly challenged in the relationship between Castaneda and Don Juan. Consequently, aesthetic, political, dramatic, and religious undertones and overtones, which can be reflected only by the subtlest literary skills, and the reformulations of theory and behavior which these subtleties provoke, come to the fore in Castaneda's writing, whereas they are virtually ignored in Argyris' work.

Already my attempt to delineate a new genre has led me to refer to works from very different arenas of knowledge and action. If I were to adduce more examples I would need to go still further afield to the esoteric traditions representedin Herrigel's Zen and the Art of Archery (1953), Lao-Tse's Tao Teh Ching (1961), Trungpa's Meditation in Action (   ), and Ouspensky's In Search of the Miraculous (1944), or to science fiction fantasies such as Asimov's Foundation trilogy, and Herbert's Dune and Dune Messiah. Since my aim has been to introduce this third approach to experience rather than to review it exhaustively, I will not examine these works in any greater detail. Another reason for no more than mentioning them is that they are probably known tc fewer people and therefore cannot serve as obvious comparisons to this book.

THIS BOOK

Instead, I will turn now to outline how this book seeks to embody the third approach to experience. In it I tell the story about my two years (1966-1968) as director of an Upward Bound program, funded under the Office of Economic Opportunity with the goal of helping poverty high school students gain admission to college. Although this particular program is not necessarily representative of Upward Bound as a whole in many of its particulars, it may have been so in spirit. Consequently, some readers may be interested to read the book in the light of Jencks' finding that Upward Bound was the only educational process at the high school level which differentially affected the likelihood of its participants attending college. He speculates "Upward Bound's apparent success may... be an exception that proves the general rule about high school resources not affecting students' college chances. Upward Bound programs are not run by high schools... They reject many of the schools' traditional values and practices, and they encourage students to look at themselves and the world in a different way (p. 151). " To what degree this overall description fits the program I directed the reader will be able to decide for himself as he reads on.

I came to the position of director very young and very optimistic. Indeed, at 22 I was the youngest Upward Bound director in the country. Within two years I was to experience the immense satisfaction of sharing in a collaborative community of inquiry that was demonstrably generating new kinds of learning and new degrees of success for our students and staff. And I was also to experience the immense distress of conflict-beyond-my-ability-at-that-time to resolve --the immense distress of a disintegrating community which came to be regarded by the national office as one of the six "most dangerous" programs amongst almost 300 around the country, according to a national staff member who visited us.

Throughout this time I was trying to encourage a climate in which each of us could articulate his aims and receive [illegible] feedback about his behavior and his effects on others. As part of this effort I tape recorded many events at the school, and we sometimes scored them or played them back for our benefit at the time. Consequently, although I have occasionally recreated dialogues with students from memory, all of the conversations from staff meetings reported in the book have been transcribed from tapes. As the book shows, my theory about what it meant to organize a school collaboratively developed important new facets both during and after the program, eventuating in a theory of historical stages of development reported toward the end of the book. In the final chapters I return to a fuller sketch--but still just a sketch--of the meaning of this third approach to experience which I have termed "inquiry-in-action" and "action science".

I have relegated many traditional social science measuring techniques to relatively low visibility in this study, although interview results, questionnaire analyses, and behavior scoring schemes applied to taped conversations all appear at critical points to add perspective to the events. Instead, I have tried first and foremost to tell the story of my experience with Upward Bound as clearly and unflinchingly as possible so that I and others can accurately identify successes and failures.* Within this record, I have paid special attention to articulating the way my action theory evolved over time and to analyzing the way my own and others' behavior implemented or contradicted our intentions at any given time. I have emphasized these three aspects of the qualities requisite for learning from experience--the articulation of action theory, the analysis of actual behavior related to intention, and the record of inner and outer experience--because I regard them as least developed in our social science and in our public life.

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* Four other members of the Upward Bound staff have read the story in its entirety and find no distortions (although two were simply not familiar with all the events I report and would have focused more on classroom events because that's where they were.

At the beginning of this introduction I called the early Seventies a time of deep, silent pessimism. I also know it to be a time of quiet digestion and rededication for many. And it must become so for many more, if the next wave of fervor is to continue our liberation and at the same time reconcile our deep divisions--if, that is, the next wave of fervor is to create more just communities which serve as a foundation for personal growth to full liberation--if, in sum, we are to discover the full flavor of creating a community of inquiry.

It is hard to recall painful experience with the detail and compassion necessary to learn something new from it. I have tried to do so in this book in the hope that the resulting story and theory will provide supportive, comparative material for the many who have been engaged in essentially the same struggle as I. I also hope it will introduce others who have not yet tasted collaborative organizing and self-directed learning to their dilemmas, demands, and rewards.

I. THE INITIAL CONCEPT

Greg and I had begun to talk about creating a school. The idea of two graduate students creating their own school was a dream, of course; but one based on some experience.

My experience derived from my year as Associate Director at the Yale Summer High School, visiting our students of the previous summer at public and private schools all over the country and designing the details of the curriculum, schedule, and living arrangements for the next summer session. Then, there were the grueling twenty-hour days of the seven-week residential session itself, when I had virtually full responsibility for the internal workings of the school, while the Director, Andrew Wilson, handled what might be called "external relations" with the University, the government, the press, and visitors.

The whole experience convinced me that my interest for the next years would be in education, but that radically new forms of education must be devised. The Yale Summer High School was advertised as innovative, but I could see very little that was innovative about it. There was enough money to hire a fine, large staff for the summer, to buy plenty of supplies, to provide exciting speakers and entertainment, and, probably most important, to bring bright, poor, often prickly, "underachieving" students from all parts of the country and all races together for the summer. The combination of students created tensions which informal conversation and, later, English essays often rendered creative, but the curriculum and the formal organization of the school tended to be conventional. I could not see that they contributed greatly to, or even used, the educational potential inherent in such a diverse student body and in the constant problems and decisions which living in close quarters provoked.

I had entered a graduate program in Individual and Organizational Behavior at Yale's Department of Administrative Sciences in the hope of gaining a better understanding of what kinds of organizations might actually enhance education. It seemed to me that the increasing cries that the educational "ivory tower" become relevant to "the real-life problems of the outside world" were ironic: for there is plenty of real life in a school, and a school's aim in the end is to heighten life-consciousness. Yet schools are organized as though nothing happens within them, as though students study for and about life in a vacuum. What kind of organization would recognize and learn from its own liveliness, I wondered. And I wondered about the same sort of thing in relation to the individual student: what would be the interplay among:

(1) the learning of necessary academic skills, to which schools now paid their whole conscious attention;

(2) personal, experience-based learning--the discovery and discipline of one's emotions and behaviors in relation to others--a kind of learning which schools often prevented by attempting to impose external disciplines;

(3) the development of internal motivation and self-verified values--of conscious contact with one's central life energy and style--a kind of process not even considered learning by most people, but viewed instead as either natural or impossible.

I ran across some dispersed and partial guideposts to these questions in my early study [redacted] but began to feel that I would have to create my own school in order to study these questions in depth.

This was the school Greg and I had begun to dream about. Greg was by far the more experienced teacher of the two of us, having taught at Bishop College in Texas and at Yale, as well as the Yale Summer High School. Moreover, at the Summer High School he had been responsible for the most interesting educational innovation, an intensive, college-level, cross-disciplinary seminar, which met four hours daily for ten returning students. Initially, his concept was that Greek literature and philosophy were eternally contemporary in their intellectual challenge and emotional immediacy, and that rigorous dialogue and writing rooted in such texts was as good training for high school students as for college students.

THROUGH INTELLECT TO EXPERIENCE

Ten bright but bored students blossomed under Greg's nimble, probing, and very demanding teaching. The following summer, when I was Associate Director, Greg was back again, this time with four associates to teach courses modelled along similar lines, the courses ranged from "History and Philosophy of Science" to "The City in American Literature". Greg taught what he called "The Foundations of American Politics", which somehow managed to encompass, among others, Plato, Shakespeare, Freud, Orwell, Jefferson and various Supreme Court decisions.

But the second summer he was concerned with much more than intellectual pyrotechnics. He had always been aware of and able to use the subtle emotional interplay within any group, but only recently had he come to recognize its trans-intellectual potential for learning. Heretofore he had brilliantly controlled and channeled students' energies into intellectual work. Now he realized that gaining independent control of their feelings and behaviors might be part of their work. The previous summer he had been largely responsible for his students' excitement. To the casual observer they might have appeared internally motivated to learn, for they worked hard without grades or significant punishments as carrots and prods. But in fact they were dependent upon Greg for their excitement. Without him they might revert to boredom and apathy, or become cynical critics ofless adept teachers, rather than creating new learning situations for themselves.

So Greg negotiated the second summer with these problems in mind, seeking to help the students recognize and question their feelings and behaviors as well as the ideas in books. Such an attempt should actually increase students' genuine understanding of ideas, for, as Plato realized in his dialogic and dramatic form of writing, ideas are the forms of right action--not abstruse abstractions. Greg used the setting of his own class--how assignments were determined, who led the class, who participated--to raise the same questions about politics as the books raised. The questions about the class, however, involved the feelings and behaviors of those present, not of America's founding fathers who could be discussed, criticized, and judged with relative immunity because they were not present.

Most class members found it terribly difficult to face and think about their immediate feelings and behavior. Equally difficult was the task of constructing analogies between immediate classroom events and the ideas embodied in the texts. To recognize that one's behavior, whether passive or active, constantly affects others and can be questioned and accounted for intellectually, places a tremendous burden of responsibility upon a person. Much that is in him will resist exposure and try to block this basic realization, especially if he is more accustomed to avoiding burdens others would place on him than to accepting opportunities for personal growth.

Greg's attempt to use classroom interaction as additional material for learning inevitably called forth such difficulties and resistances. It became clear that to mix academic and experiential learning and to base learning on an inner wish to know inevitably called forth conflict. The only viable teaching method was one which accepted and dealt with such conflict openly, rather than suppressing it or manipulating it to serve the teacher's ends. Greg struggled towards such a process.

At the end of the summer he found his students less adept at textual analysis and less brilliant in their essays than his previous group. On the other hand, some seemed to have gained an insight into themselves and their possibilities, based on their actual feelings and behavior rather than on vague daydreams--a kind of insight which had been inaccessible to the previous group. Moreover, Greg became to this group a rotund, powerful, heavy-drinking, brilliant, irascible, gentle human being to be dealt with, rather than the mythic Olympic god, that he had been to the previous group.

THE DREAM

Such was our background. Our dream derived from our experience: create a school in which both classrooms and community as a whole would be arenas for immediate experiential learning about the same issues that were to be studied in the academic curriculum. The obvious analogy was the development, structure and process of a community, as studied through our own communal experience on the one hand, and as approached through literature, social sciences, and such natural sciences as ethology and ecology on the other hand. Classes would use intellectual resources (texts, movies, games, etc.), the students' own experiences in the city, the immediate classroom situation, and the general process of living together as analogical inputs into learning.

Students would all be drawn from New Haven and would be those most alienated from and failing most disastrously in the current school system. The inevitable conflicts within the program around motivation, communication, leadership, and decision-making would thus become legitimate areas of inquiry and effort, rather than incidental, bothersome, and seemingly unfathomable clots in an otherwise smooth-running system. The entire effort would be collaborative in nature, to emphasize the self-motivated quality of experiential learning and to get the students working together rather than against The System.

INSERT (see next page)

[illegible]

[illegible] found myself face-to-face with the chance to realize this dream. Andrew Wilson invited me to his apartment and asked me whether I would like to initiate a new summer school - a proposed Yale Upward Bound Program.

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This dream strikes me in retrospect as having been more realistic than most utopian fantasies. We foresaw that contradictions would arise among persons' intentions and their behavior. Rather than 'hoping away' such conflict, we intended to focus upon it as a source of learning. Missing from the dream, however, was a lively sense of the school's development over time, and this despite our avowed theme of "community development." For example, it did not occur to us how difficult it might be to share even the bare bones of the dream itself. Yet the very notion that conflicts within the program could become vehicles for our mutual education depended upon the assumption that everyone shared an under- of, and allegiance to, the dream.

In fact, as the following chapters will record, the theme of community development did not come to integrate the curriculum of the school we began. And it was only after I left the school and thought back over its history that I gained a sense of the critical element missing from the original dream--the actual temporal stages through which a community must develop.

THE ACTUALITY

Such thoughts and events were still far in the future when one evening I suddenly

The Office of Economic Opportunity had funded 250 Upward Bound Programs all over the country for the summer of 1966. Based on a few early prototypes, such as the Yale Summer High School which began in 1964, Upward Bound Programs were largely financed by OEO, but were run by colleges or universities. The basic model was a seven-week residential summer session at the colleges for underachieving, poor high school students, with an academic year follow-through program of some sort. The summer staffs tended to include college-age residential tutors who lived with the students, a heterogeneous teaching faculty including a sizeable proportion of high school and college instructors, and several administrators. Each program was largely autonomous in its determination of educational philosophy, curriculum, and daily schedule, though proposals and operations were reviewed by a central consulting agency. Programs ranged in size from thirty or forty students to a few of over two hundred students. Unlike the Yale Summer High School, Upward Bound Programs drew their students from their local areas and were associated with the local Community Action Agencies. Each director was required to create and meet with an Academic Policy Committee and a Public Advisory Committee comprised of academic and community personnel, respectively, to review decisions.

Now, in the winter following the first summer of large-scale operation, there was money at OEO to establish a few more Upward Bound Programs. Andrew, a consultant to Upward Bound himself, had been approached about Yale's interest in starting an Upward Bound Program to serve New Haven. Andrew turned to me, a person in whom he had confidence and whom he knew to have relevant experience, to ask if I would serve as

Program Co-ordinator and take the brunt of the early work of organizing the program. I was to determine the internal operation of the program, while a senior faculty member from Yale or another local college would become director and handle administrative relations with Yale, New Haven, and Upward Bound. I was to write the initial proposal (due shortly) and hire the director. So short was the time in which to accomplish these matters and so scarce were persons with the necessary experience that Andrew intended to forego a Yale Upward Bound Program if I did not feel I could make the commitment to organize it.

I tried to be reasonable and learn all the who's, why's, and how's, as well as the if's, but's and also's, before weighing all the evidence and deciding whether to accept his offer. I spent a considerable amount of time and effort before admitting to myself that all such questions were subordinate to my desire to attempt it.

What I was aware of at the time was a sort of acceleration and excitement in my activity, a sense of contact and focus in exchanges with others. Looking back, I imagine that a feeling of being needed, being important, and being defined began to replace the emotional emptiness I had felt during the past months--an emptiness caused by the sudden discontinuation of a magnetic relationship with a woman and by the transition from my defined job to the vague role of graduate student. I was greedy for such a change.

III. THE FIRST STEP

I began the initial work quickly and easily. Program proposal and budget were composed and sent off to Washington; Yale officials and New Haven educators were visited. It was a preliminary jog around the track to loosen the muscles, or---to try another metaphor--a shakedown cruise to remind one of the necessary terms and instruments, of prevailing winds and currents.

Primarily, however, this was a period of searching for the right first step. I felt that the initial planning of the program would set the tone and limits for everything that followed. For example, if in our initial planning we spoke a great deal about experimenting without ever actually behaving experimentally, I doubted whether we would ever reach the point of behaving experimentally. Instead, the incongruity between our words and our behavior would make the first lesson of our school something like: "Don't worry about doing what you say; we don't."

Another possible self-contradiction was the danger of imposing an ideology of self-directed learning. Greg and I had some mutual understanding of the conditions we felt to be necessary for encouraging students toward self-direction. But how were we to create such conditions within the school? Were we going to impose our ideology upon it? If so, the rest of the staff and students would be directed by us, not self-directed. Such a result would contradict and defeat our intentions from the outset.

Even if I did not argue, defend, and justify my moves ideologically, there was still the possibility that my personality and leadership style would place implicit emotional limits on the program that would prevent others from exploring paths toward self-world consciousness and self-direction. Strength and charisma may be virtues in a leader when he must unify followers to complete some external task. But such a leader inevitably creates dependence upon himself among the followers. When the task involves developing the followers' independence, strength and charisma in the leader may merely divert the followers from taking authority over themselves. This had been Greg's main concern the summer before as he struggled to use his strengths without creating blind dependence. And a similar aim and effort seemed to be central to the counsel of the *Tao Teh Ching*, to which I found myself often returning:

> Tao never makes any ado,
> And yet it does everything.
> If a ruler can cling to it,
> All things will grow of themselves.
>
> The more taboos and inhibitions there are in the world,
> The poorer the people become.
> The sharper the weapons the people possess,
> The greater confusion reigns in the realm.
> The more clever and crafty the men,
> The oftener strange things happen.
> The more articulate the laws and ordinances,
> The more robbers and thieves arise.
> Therefore, the sage says:
> I do not make any fuss, and
> the people transform themselves.

How can one possibly avoid making any ado when he must start something, I wondered.

These were the dangers of taking a definite first step into the uncharted realm of self-directed learning. On the other side of the equation were the dangers of taking no lead. I knew that I was quite capable of organizing an ordinary educational program. Over the period of five and a half months before the program was to begin its summer session, I could easily assemble, piecemeal but discriminately, a staff, a curriculum, program of activities, and student body. But my means of doing so would be anti-educational -- that is, they would treat these matters as external tasks, as preparations before the education was to occur. They would overlook the potential for self-directed learning inherent in all interactions. Such an anti-educational course of action would be particularly disastrous since it was clear that the staff would have to experiment with self-directed learning if it was to recognize and encourage such a process among the students. If the staff's introduction to the program were to a smoothly running bureaucratic organization, there would be no reason for them to expect or explore new learning and teaching processes prior to and during the summer session itself. Rhetoric about self-directed learning would be discounted as the usual public phraseology attached to such efforts. The danger of proceeding automatically according to my "practical training" was similar to the danger of talking but not acting experimentally: we were likely to end up with no experiment whatsoever in self-directed learning.

The dangers which seemed to circumscribe me and to condemn all conceivable first steps can help clarify what I mean by self-directed learning. For I tried to put myself in the position of self-directed learner in attempting these first steps. I labored to define the situation so that I could view myself as taking a first step, as being at the point of exploration.

THE POINT OF EXPLORATION

Each new moment presents a new balance of forces in the world of which we are all parts. Thus, even if we could claim to know everything about the past, there would be something new to learn--to explore--in each moment. If we do not conceive ourselves as being at the point of exploration every moment, we are not really in touch with what is going on.

In particular, there is a new manifestation of energy within us at each moment. Most of us can recognize upon reflection, that the balance of energies and forces are changing within us continually. One suddenly realizes that one has lost the drowsiness or the headache of half an hour ago; one stares blankly at a page for ten minutes resisting the very thought of the writing one must do, then later finds oneself fluently completing the third page.

If we could become conscious of this changing balance of energies within us and without us, we could use ourselves better, be ourselves more. We might be able to discriminate the essential from the ephemeral and thus come to experience our real selves rather than merely try to imagine who we are; we might be able to plan more in accord with energies manifest within us; we might even come to influence the balance of those energies.

Becoming conscious of the moment-to-moment change of energies within and without us requires us to approach each moment with a question, with an openness to its new manifestation. We would use knowledge of past moments to predict the succeeding moment and to locate ourselves so as to be able to question it.

Lack of experiential knowledge would prevent one from discovering the question of succeeding moments. The hours each day we all spend in automatic, unquestioning activity testify that this is our common state, as does also the extent to which even our questioning is an *intellectual reflection apart from activity* rather than an *experiential opening in the midst of activity*. We tend to interpret events in terms of categories no longer suitable, to the point where we forget that our consciousness is dependent upon questioning each new moment. We often believe that answers rather than questions exhibit consciousness and understanding, while questions indicate ignorance. And we forget that questions, if verbalized at all, are fundamentally representations of experiential opening, not automatic conversational facilitators or intellectual counters in debate.

Self-directed learning is, then, a phrase which I use to describe an orientation toward one's entire life. It is an orientation towards discovering a more immediate, experiential consciousness than we ordinarily achieve--an orientation towards genuine self-consciousness, self-understanding, self-control, and, thus, independence.

EXPERIENTIAL CONTRADICTIONS

An important characteristic of experiential consciousness and self-directed learning is suggested by the contradictions among the possible ways of starting Upward Bound which I might fall into. These are not logical contradictions, given certain premises, but rather experiential contradictions between thought and action. Such contradictions between thought or feeling and our actual behavior are common, precisely because our consciousness generally does not cover both thought and behavior at once. Our consciousness tends to be restricted to the level of our thought. We ignore behavior which contradicts or escapes the categories of our thought, or if we see it our thought explains it away or denies its importance. Moreover, we tend to see only those consequences of our behavior which we intend. This is particularly true in social relationships, for we rarely share with other persons the effects of our behavior on one another. If I tell another person to do something and he does it, I count my behavior successful. If I have also aroused his resentment, which causes him to cease responding to me altogether after a time, I tend to be unaware of it. Instead, when he ceases to respond to me, I wonder why he has suddenly become so unreliable.

Another way of emphasizing that thought and behavior are distinct processes is to point out that they occur continuously and, therefore, simultaneously. Our usual illusion that we think then act, or act then think, is evidence of our limited consciousness. We are continuously acting and thinking, but our awareness tends to be limited to one process or the other. In fact, what we view as awareness of behavior tends to be a thought process focused upon behavior rather than direct sensual awareness; thus our awareness tends to be limited to thought alone.

Direct consciousness of behavior comes through sensation. For example, if the reader makes an effort to follow his breathing as he reads this, he will find himself becoming aware of his body as a whole--his heartbeat, what is touching, how he is seated, etc. He must relax in order to follow his breathing while continuing to read. Otherwise, he will tend to 'forget' his breathing again immediately. If, on the other hand, his effort to follow his breathing interferes with his reading, it is a sign that his thought is making the effort and cannot do two things at once. His effort at bodily awareness must emanate from a distinct source. To maintain a dual awareness of his breathing and his reading, the reader will require a certain lightness, balance, immediacy, presence. This state will no doubt quickly be lost as the reader returns to complete immersion in his thought. But while it lasts, it may give a slight taste of what I mean by the term experiential consciousness.

ANOTHER LEVEL OF EXPERIENCE-INTERNAL MOTIVATION

The possible contradictions mentioned above are between the levels of thought and behavior.* But these two are not the only experiential levels. Another level with which we have the possibility of conscious contact, but which, as in the case of behavior, we ordinarily only think about, might be called our centered intention or internal motivation.

All of us are vaguely aware of contradictions within us between thought and motivation. We may make an agreement to do a certain kind of work, believing ourselves to be excited by it, then find when the time comes to do it that we couldn't be more bored. Perhaps at that point we force ourselves to do the work even though we know we are not motivated to do it. All three we's in the previous sentence are images of our selves, thoughts about ourselves, that fail to encompass our actual motivation in the situation. Occasionally, very occasionally, we can actually sense our inner motivation; a pleasant sense of our body calm and pulsing, our mind clear and alert, our attention leonine, languidly, gracefully roving the environment for emergences we may treat as significant if we wish; a sense of well-being so subtle it can permeate even painful feelings.

How can we become more aware of our actual motivations? How can we discover or develop the centered intention that would give form to our total lives? Such a project is more difficult than to become conscious

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*I have here emphasized the distinctness of thought and behavior because this is an early discovery in self-directed learning. However, I should also note that there is an interaction and interdependence between the two. The character of this interaction is initially unknown. Thought and behavior occupy different levels of reality, each of which operates according to its own logic, its own time, its own space, its own energy, its own limits. These levels are connected by some unknown process of mutual transaction, transformation, motivation, organization, causation. Experiential consciousness is our key to this process since it gives us access to more than one level at a time.

of one's behavior (although the two projects are, finally, one). For in the case of one's behavior, there are other persons, tape recorders, and movie cameras which can reflect it back and help one to become more aware of it. Also, to learn that an aspect of one's behavior is somehow incongruent or dysfunctional is often not shattering to one's self-image, for the behavior itself may be peripheral, or the ability to change it may reassure one of one's competence. However, to question motivation is to question the very basis of one's sense of identity and is consequently more likely to be resisted.

However difficult to accomplish, such questioning was of special concern to education at Upward Bound. For negative self-images and lack of motivation to achieve were crucial factors in the low school achievement of students from backgrounds of poverty. For various reasons which other writers have traced [redacted] schools define these students as unsuccessful early in their careers and then operate so as to maintain them in their roles as failures and deviants, rather than to help them define and attain success for themselves. These students are taught to think negatively of themselves in school. In order to preserve any sense of self-respect, they tend to avoid, devalue, and attack everything connected with school attendance, academic skills, learning. Far from lacking motivation, these students are often more in touch with their inner urges and less constrained by social pressures than those who are socially successful. But their inner urges are volatile and changeable (as all of us discover our inner urges to be when we explore them). These students, like the rest of us, have yet to search out their centered intention, their ultimate aim and concern, their life-organizing-and-integrating energy. From the point of view of self directed learning, they, like the rest of us, have yet to take the first step. Whether one has accepted or resisted the sphere of forced learning, succeeded or failed, the problem of gaining conscious understanding of one's centered, inner motivation is equally unexplored.

Self-directed learning is, then, the development of experiential consciousness which maintains simultaneous access to the distinct but interacting levels of behavior, thought, and centered intent. At different levels we may find analogous and therefore congruent expressions of energy, or contradictory and therefore incongruent expressions of it. These concepts help explain the significance Greg and I attached to the process of discovering analogies between intellectual materials and our classroom and communal behavior. Such analogies would not merely personalize the materials to be learned and thus possibly attract the students' interest; more generally they might also serve to open them to the realm of experiential consciousness and the possibilities of self-directed learning.

AGAIN, HOW TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP

This concept of three levels operating within us also elucidates the problem I faced in taking a first step to start this school. The reason why all possible first steps at first appeared likely to be incongruent was that I was only *thinking* about them--I was not yet in touch with a centered intention which brought all sides of the problem into a single perspective. For one's problem in action is not merely to act so as not to contradict one's thought, but to act so as to transform, through thought, one's centered intention into behavior. Only such three-level congruence can qualify as fully authentic human behavior. Thought is incapable of grasping one's centered intention in its entirety, for that only manifests itself over the period of one's life. At best, thought can recognize the glint of some of the facets of centered intention. Any self-concept is inadequate to the reality of one's centered intention and inhibits experiential search for and consciousness of one's intent, unless it is recognized as useful only for the action of the moment. Thought oriented towards experiential consciousness, accepting of its own limits, formulates itself into a dialectic which leads the thinker beyond thought to explore his centered intention. Such was the exploration I was led to by the contradictions I found among and within conceivable first steps at Upward Bound. At least, this was my attempt: to have my first step be an authentic transformation of my centered intention.

There is a somewhat different, equally valid, and complementary perspective from which self-directed learning can be approached, and I believe I had best introduce it here to provide further context for this kind of learning. I have maintained so far that most of us spend our lives immersed in the level of thought, sometimes focusing towards the level of behavior but rarely actually entering into it or into the level of centered intention. A number of persons may find this proposition foreign to their experience. Among these may be persons who do not consider themselves thinkers, but rather feelers or doers, persons in tune with and responsive to emotion or their body's inner sensation, to social relations or physical things, more than to thought (Of course, this would be part of their self-*concept*). Thought, sensation, and emotion are of course common to all of us, but it is equally common that one of the three is dominant in a person and determines patterns to which the other two usually conform. So, some persons are immersed primarily in their emotions or sensations rather than their thought. All three, however, are complementary elements of one level of experience.

Of the three, all ordinary education except sports and some of the arts addresses itself to the training of thought alone, and does so in a way which distances thought from experiential consciousness. A man can appear to function well after such one-sided education only because the culture as a whole is dedicated to defining what he does as successful. However, any person with some sense of unity and integrity will recognize that inner sensation and emotion play roles in his functioning, as well as thought. Yet to most of us the workings of our feelings and inner sensations are mysteries. We do not attend to them until they are very strong and then we rarely know precisely what they mean and what action they imply. Behavior based on them is often automatic and habitual or infantile. Our thought can interpret only the sharpest experiences of emotion and inner sensation and then only in general terms. The idea of training our emotion and inner sensation and of realizing regular communication and cooperation among them and thought in action is foreign to our culture. So, we find from the perspective of the single level of thought a division and lack of exchange among the three principle elements--thought, emotion, inner sensation--just as we find

-sphere

division and lack of exchange among the three levels of centered intention, thought, and behavior. Self-directed learning can be viewed as concerned with the conscious training and reconciliation of these three elements at the level of thought.

[redacted]

Taking the two perspectives on self-directed learning together, we can draw the following diagram of the qualities of experience accessible to the fully conscious person:

BEHAVIOR	facial expression, tone of voice	gesture, movement	speaking
STRUCTURE	emotion	inner sensation	thought
CENTERED INTENTION	conscience	will	consciousness

What this diagram does not show is the shifting and generally more limited sphere of our moment-to-moment awareness.

[redacted] The very way in which I posed the contradictions inherent in the various first steps I could imagine was itself a sign of my distance from centered intention (though of course I could not see this at the time). For my sense of the danger of such contradictions rested on the assumption that they would undermine the school rather than provide material for learning. In other words, I assumed that if I contradicted myself, the school would begin sliding 'downhill.' This assumption implied, in turn, that I was alone, on the top of the hill to begin with, straining to pull others up by my 'perfect' behavior. And this led to the further implication that

I did not trust that anyone was capable of confronting me if I failed at any time (or, more simply, to the implication that I feared being confronted, so I would try to be perfect to begin with).

Given my avowed commitments to confrontation, to developing trust, and to working collaboratively, I would have been shocked to hear someone assert that my anguish about how to start the school was as much derived from an implicit elitism as from an explicit egalitarianism.

What was missing from my thoughts about how to begin the school, just as it had been missing in the original dream, was an appreciation for how a person or a community can grow over time, resolving initial contradictions into subtler unity. Indeed, another way of phrasing the implications stated above is that I did not experience and trust my own or the school's future as a source of healing. Of course, the history of this country since the framing of the Constitution does not offer many examples of such growth, healing, and increasing unification. Indeed, in retrospect, the Sixties illuminated the degree to which various segments of our supposed national community had become alienated from its direction and felt contradictions which public rhetoric had previously suppressed. Thus, the later Sixties became a time when blacks, students, poor people, women, and gays opened wounds, asserting the legitimacy of their particular identities against a spurious unity which did not include their aspirations. So, any effort our school would make to resolve initial contradictions into subtler unity would occur without any obvious models to guide us, without any sense on my part initially of how such historical processes could be encouraged, and against the grain of a larger historical current.

THE PARADOX

The two perspectives on self-directed learning which I have outlined make clear one paradoxical fact: that a person is precisely not self-directed at the outset of such learning. Is not the name "self-directed learning" then misleading? Does not a person learn to become self-directed rather than directing his own learning? Is not a person at the outset of such learning precisely incompetent to direct his own learning? The answers to these questions can uniformly be "yes," but I will still retain the name "self-directed learning." For the action-conclusion to be drawn from these answers is not that the learner should be externally controlled and directed until parents or teachers find him capable of self-direction, or as is more common, until the student reaches an age at which parents and teachers are no longer legally entitled to direct him.

The problem with external control and direction, as Morris found in his teaching, is that it prevents the educational process of growing self-direction. Only a vacuum of external direction, or ironic external direction that goads the student not only beyond himself but also beyond his teacher, can encourage self-direction. A person may try to be self-directing in a vacuum and finds that self-direction and independence do not come naturally and do not leave one uninfluenced by others. Or, a person may try to remain dependent on an ironic authority and find himself frustrated and failing. In either case, the person may give up in disgust. Or he may take the step of choosing, as part of a self-directed learning effort, to be guided and trained by another, whose authority he temporarily accepts. To

A third person the resulting relationship between teacher and student may appear equivalent to external direction; but in fact the motivation, function, and meaning of the relationship is wholly different: the learner has risked himself, taking initiative and responsibility for the relationship. He is not merely conforming to or revolting aginst pressure and direction felt as external. The relationship is fundamentally collaborative rather than forced, its purpose is inner search rather than external control, and the teacher's authority is based, in the eyes of the student, on his superior level of self-development rather than on his coercive power.

These ideas are hardly new, but they have never been popular or popularly realized. Civilizations that we know of have generally operated according to principles of external control, and persons and societies have oscillated between periods of conformity to and revolt against the prevailing powers and mores. Great teachers, however, have always recognized that they have a moral as well as an intellectual function; that their moral function involves revealing a sense of personal search, discipline, and responsibility in a student (so that he recognizes his learning as *his*, *his* choice, *his* direction); and that their teaching art must focus upon transmuting *organizational power*, given them to demand behavioral conformity, into *spiritual authority*, earned by them to assist a student in his search towards self-direction.

THE SELF WHO DIRECTS LEARNING

If we agree that a person is not self-directed at the outset of his search except in his choice to search, the foregoing discussion may also suggest that he is not self-directed *during* his search. Others, such as a teacher, share in influencing and directing him. Is this not another contradiction of the term "self-directed learning"? The answer depends upon one's concept of self. It is consistent with a civilization which focuses on external direction and behavioral control to regard selves as separate. For, bodily--at the behavioral level--we are external to, separate from, one another. From this point of view, to be influenced by another is to be externally directed by him, and hence *not* to be self-directed. From this point of view, too, it is assumed that one's thought, feelings, and sensations and one's sense of self are *inside* one's body and therefore *outside* others.

Mystics have always disagreed with this concept, maintaining instead that at each "higher" level, as one attains experiential consciousness of it, one's unity with others and with the universe as a whole becomes more manifest. Materially speaking, one can imagine matter at the levels of thought and centered intention as being of progressively higher frequency and lower density than bodily matter, so that bodily boundaries are not barriers for them, just as walls are not barriers to radio waves. More directly, you and I do not share the same body, but we do share (generally) the same language. Bodily we are outside one another; conceptually we are to a considerable extent inside one another.

When we think back on it, it is often the people who think like us or simply (feel) like us who influence us most. It doesn't feel like influence in the sense of external direction at the time, but such associations often determine much about the directions and qualities we later develop. These shared thoughts and feelings, generated either by a common culture or created by conversation in work and play, influence our behavior, but it is a different kind of influence from that generated by external control.

It is this second kind of influence which comes to operate with increasing creativity through a self-directed learner. He is not so much influenced *by* others as *in association with them*. This kind of influence occurs increasingly because the self-directed learner increasingly explores beyond the boundaries of his nonconscious motivations, discovering aspects of himself--thoughts, feelings, sensations, transformations--which processes of external direction taught him to reject from consciousness. He thus discovers shared thoughts and feelings and the possibility of mutual association with persons with whom he never before thought he had anything in common. It is for this reason that Nietzsche spoke of one's enemies as one's best friends: they tend to see and bring close to the surface those aspects of oneself to which one has yet to be reconciled consciously, presenting the opportunity, if one will treat it as such, to explore them. The self-directed learner increasingly realizes that the particular, individual role which his embodied experience fits him for in the world is determined, not by him alone, but by his self-in-association-with-humanity-and-influenced-by-the-universe-as-a-whole. It is with this understanding of the self that I speak of self-directed learning.

~~AND AGAIN: HOW TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP~~

~~Having provided some intellectual context for the phrase "self-directed learning", I will return now to my attempts to apply this idea to my own action in taking first steps at Upward Bound. I continued to consult potential advisors, as well as persons informed about education in New Haven, and college students and teachers who indicated an interest in working for the program. I felt a growing sense of urgency about "really getting started" and a growing sense of frustration at my inability to surmount the possible contradictions I kept posing myself. Sometimes I would condemn myself as an inveterate intellectualizer: if I would just go ahead and do something, I could confront and deal with the consequences actively, rather than just mull them over. But I had already formulated "just going ahead" as a danger in itself, so that too would have been an avoidance of the problem. I knew that I needed to find a move and moment which rightly expressed my centered intention for this school. I needed to discriminate among and distill the day-to-day pressures I increasingly felt into creative action. During this time I alternated intense days of activity with morning and evening prayer and meditation; in other words, I alternated concentration "downwards" with~~

AND AGAIN: HOW TO TAKE THE FIRST STEP

Whatever its principle effect might have been--additional burden or enlightenment--I had none of this retrospective understanding to guide me as I continued to consult potential advisors, persons informed about education in New Haven, and college students and teachers who indicated an interest in working for the program. I felt a growing sense of frustration at my inability to surmount the possible contradictions I kept posing myself. Sometimes I would condemn myself as an inverterate intellectualizer: if I would just go ahead and do something, I could confront and deal with the consequences actively, rather than just mull them over. But I had already formulated "just going ahead" as a danger in itself, so that too would have been an avoidance of the problem. I knew that I needed to find a move and moment which rightly expressed my centered intention for this school. I needed to discriminate among and distill the day-to-day pressures I increasingly felt into creative action. During this time I alternated intense days of activity with morning and evening prayer and meditation; in other words, I alternated concentration "downwards" with opening "upwards." However, my effort was to achieve a state in which I could be simultaneously concentrated and opened, simultaneously conscious of my behavior and centered intention.

As the number of my "consultants" increased, so did their concern to get started and their prescriptions for how we ought to start. I, in turn, sensed a one-sidedness in most of their proposals that would miss the central aim of the school, and wished increasingly that they would recognize and help to distill each other's pressures, rather than focusing them all on me in an unmodified fashion. I thought how funny and educational it would be for them suddenly to find themselves all together at a meeting charged with making the decisions each thought so simple from his particular perspective. This thought, initially no more than a passing fantasy, fused somehow with a growing recognition on my part that the problem of taking a first step was changing from "How do I start?" to "How do we start?"

At this point what felt like a right first step became at once obvious and compelling. The first step would be to begin meeting together regularly to make the various major decisions that needed to be made. In this way our first step as a school would adhere to the collaborative form of organization I hoped to realize. At the same time, persons considering joining our staff could come to these meetings and experience the benefits and frustrations of working collaboratively and thus determine whether they were committed to this way of working before deciding to join us. Also, by analyzing tapes of these meetings and pointing out inconsistencies between our intentions and behaviors, I hoped to encourage the process of self-directed learning. So, Greg and I contacted everyone who had seemed concerned to help us, inviting them to the first of a series of weekly meetings at a given time and place.

III. CONTRADICTIONS AND COLLABORATION IN STAFF DEVELOPMENT

The decision to have these meetings to begin making decisions about the school did not of course end the possibility of contradictions between my intention and my behavior.

During the first meeting I felt I must concentrate on not becoming an ordinary, externally directive leader. I did have to concentrate because ~~people~~ many of the twenty persons present raised hands to speak, looked to me for recognition and waited expectantly after each speaker said something for my reaction. After describing this pattern to the group and explaining why it posed a problem for me, I sometimes used the tactic of writing notes and neither responding to nor looking at what was going on.

This strategy was temporarily frustrated by Mike, one of the advisors, and David, a potential teacher, who insisted that I share my thinking about the program up to this point. I did so, but without any recommendation about how the group should act now.

There was silence. Then, after some initial fumbling, and without my assistance, a conversation sprouted. Thereafter I never had to worry about being the sole initiator in the group.

Responding to success by playing it safe, I didn't say much for the rest of the meeting. After some lively discussions about how our summer school would tie into the New Haven public school and neighborhood structures, the conversation dragged, becoming boring and inconclusive. Still, I stayed in the background.

Afterwards I noted to myself, "I ended up with a sense of failure as a participant at not having the courage to express my feeling (i.e.

During this early period I found that I could evaluate each meeting only by determining whether I had felt able to express my immediate feelings and perceptions. Therefore, I felt terrible after the first meeting because I had maintained a silent role, rather than responding more flexibly to my changing feelings. At the time, I had been so pleased at avoiding being externally directive that I did not notice myself abdicating an active role altogether. Of course, one might argue that my continued silence tested the group's capacity to reorient the conversation, and I attempted to rescue this possible benefit of my behavior by pointing to the group's behavior as one of the dilemmas we faced when I wrote the first of my weekly meeting notes. The following is a replica of the first week's notes.

* * * *

UPWARD BOUND MEETING

Thursday, March 2

> (I will try each week to write up a brief summary of our meeting for those who missed it, as well as my own analysis of the kinds of dilemmas we have encountered. Bill Torbert)

I opened the meeting by suggesting that: (1) I would try to act more as a researcher of the discussion than as a director; (2) we might generate an agenda and introduce ourselves to one another at the same time; (3) two agenda items were, (a) should we draw students from a single neighborhood and school in NH and, if so, which? (b) should we be co-ed or all male?

After the introductions, which produced no more agenda items, I was asked to review my thinking about the program. Then we moved to a discussion of the single-neighborhood/single-school idea. A number of points were made: it would initially be more difficult to work with students from one area because of their anti-educational group-cohesion (!); but it would ultimately be easier to work with students from one area because after the program they would reinforce one another's pro-educational norms; we could intensify our influence by working in the Hill area, dovetailing with various other existing and planned programs; but we might find ourselves swamped by, or in conflict with, other organizations, damaging our uniqueness as an anti-school, so perhaps we should work with Fairhaven and Wilbur Cross rather than the Hill and Lee.

Questions were raised: is it our aim to help individuals get to college? or are we primarily responsible for influencing the educational norms of a community? do we wish by our choice of students and neighborhood to make our work as easy as possible for ourselves, or as difficult as possible? since we will be inviting more new students to take part in the program next year, should we start with students from two areas and expand in both, or start with one area and continue with that area, or work with one area this year and another next year?

We felt we needed some information (which I will gather through some of you): given 200 students in the Lee freshman class from the Hill, how many meet the financial criteria? How many students in Fairhaven meet the financial criteria? What is the racial constitution of these two areas? Where are the multi-problem families in New Haven?

DILEMMAS: (1) Toward the end of the meeting we found ourselves reiterating the same points, contradicting ourselves, whispering to one another, and, in short, coming close to the atmosphere of a classroom where one is prohibited from exploring the most important comment: this discussion has ceased to be important for me; (2) we were unable to reach a decision, a difficulty we will have to overcome if we truly intend eventually to have even more persons, i.e. our students, share in the decision-making; (3) we were unable to take up our second agenda item, or to project an agenda for next week which would permit us to arrive with some of the kinds of information we found ourselves lacking this week. In sum, as I see it, we found that, deprived of ordinary directive leadership which takes responsibility for how things are done at a business meeting, we could be facile at the level of intellectual principles about our unique organizational intentions, but that this facility was not sufficient to induce unique organizational operations.

* * * *

MY TENDENCY TO AVOID CONFLICT

Only much later, with the help of my departmental advisor, Chris Argyris, and the pain of further experiences, could I begin to see how deeply my behavior at this first meeting reflected my urge to avoid conflict. I could immediately see this pattern in my maintenance of the passive role. But I did not see that by avoiding looking at people I had been avoiding a possible open conflict about leadership. Also, my use of the notes to discuss my perceptions of the outcome of the meeting again permitted me to avoid confronting others directly.

Upon reflection, fear of conflict seemed a pattern in my earlier life too. I remembered the time when an antagonistic acquaintance had pronounced me "unbelievably angelic", and the more vivid occasion when a more exploratory acquaintance told me he found me difficult to understand as a person--I seemed terribly intellectual and distant to him. For example, he continued, he had never seen me get angry, really angry. I would become far more human for him, he said, if I could just once express anger at something. I found this comment somewhat awkward since I could not well prove my ability to express anger on the spot, there being nothing angrifying about our conversation as far as I could see. I replied that it was true that I rarely expressed anger, but that I believed I could express it when appropriate. He asked, "Why don't you get angry right now?"

"Well, there's nothing to get angry about," I replied, somewhat put-out by such a nonsensical request.

"What if I goad you into anger?" he asked.

"I don't see what that would prove--it wouldn't be real," I replied with a growing sense of awkwardness, as I began to suspect that he might actually proceed to goad me.

"Come on, why don't you get angry at me, Bill?" he said in a fake voice.

"Don't be ridiculous," I replied, somewhat strangled and increasingly uncomfortable and uncertain about how to respond so as to avoid falling into his trap.

"Go ahead, Bill, a little anger won't hurt," he urged with maddening sweetness.

At this my face grew red (though it was a long moment before I realized it); I clamped my mouth shut and decided not to say a word. I was damned if I would play such a silly game and get angry merely because he asked me to.

After a short silence, he remarked coyly, "I do believe you are angry now."

"I am not!" burst from me vehemently. And I realized immediately that I was angry and that the only way I could have "avoided his trap" was to feel comfortable in expressing my anger at his game. But I had not even been able to recognize or name my anger until he had exposed it.

This little incident had alerted me to my tendency to avoid conflict. I knew that I was not yet fully conscious of the relations among the aggressive, passive, and reconciling forces within me and between me and others, so there was certainly unresolved conflict there to be discovered. My feeble efforts to recognize and express anger henceforth at appropriate moments only made me the more aware of the depth of my training to avoid conflict. My ability to befriend and reconcile mutual enemies seemed more demonic than beneficial at such times, and I sometimes blamed my diplomat-father for passing on his withdrawn gentleness all too effectively.

But the most present evidence of my fear of conflict was the ache of suffering and uncertainty I had carried about with me for several months. It derived from a love-affair with a woman already married. We had befriended and loved one another from early acquaintance--but without being "in love"--and I became a good friend of her husband too. A fateful bunch of coincidences created the conditions for our "falling in love", which we did totally and magnetically. We attempted to remain apart. We attempted to tell her husband, but his emotional situation made it seem unwise to her. Finally, she told him, and, in a rage, he commanded her to break off the relationship with me. She acceded, telling me in parting, "I guess you'll want to kick me in the stomach or something, but I can't resist his strength." Instead, I told her I still loved her and said goodbye.

For a long time no other human relationship meant anything to me, and I was anguished by the destruction I had been a part of. Sometimes I prayed that their marriage would heal their wounds; sometimes I lashed myself for permitting our love to remain clandestine so long, thus betraying her husband; sometimes I felt his anger had covered over an unresolvable conflict and beaten his wife into submission, and that, had my anger equalled and confronted his, the three of us would have emerged happier in the long run no matter what the outcome. I connected my behavior in both of the latter two instances with my reluctance to face conflict and bring it into the open in search of resolution. Now I was suffering the consequences. An important reason for immersing myself in Upward Bound may have been to forget my loneliness, although I did not think of it in this way at that time.

AFTER THE FIRST MEETING

I was not the only one who left our first meeting confused, ambivalent, or anxious. Jennie and Sam, two advisors working with the community action agency, called during the week. Jennie remarked that she had never before seen a meeting which really encouraged participation as this one had; that she thought my notes and analysis were concise and provocative, and that she doubted whether we would ever make any decisions if we continued in this fashion! Sam, sounding worried, called to be sure I was aware that this was not the way to get what I wanted out of the group--I would have to present my view much more forcefully and pull the discussion together when it became ragged.

Not surprisingly, I remained anxious as I looked forward to our second meeting. Suddenly my ideal that the group simultaneously work together and learn to work together seemed impossibly difficult of realization. I sensed an attitude on the part of most of the others that working together and learning were two unrelated processes; or, to put it another way, that thoughtful planning for the future and awareness of one's present behavior were two inimical matters. I decided to ask the group to take ten minutes at the beginning and end of our two hours together to look back over what we had done and forward to what we needed to do in order to gain perspective on our work together. I hoped this would create an oasis for learning, just as in my own life I had for a time set aside special periods for prayer and meditation.

The group agreed to this suggestion at the outset of the second meeting. These two review sessions made the meeting seem more of a single, completed, comprehended unit than the first. Also, we quite easily reached our first decision--to make the school co-ed (thus departing from Yale College's all-male tradition)--contrary to Jennie's expectations that no decisions would ever be reached by this collaborative method. She quipped, "That was neater than last week," and everyone laughed.

Anxieties lowered, the meeting proceeded in a friendly and apparently productive fashion. Efforts were made once again to define the school's aim, to specify the kind of students we would seek, and to identify people and agencies who would know such students.

Most persons, including myself, felt better at the end of the second meeting, and in its glow the first meeting was seen as having made persons more aware that the school would not necessarily embody their particular idea, but would be a place for working out ideas together. As Rick, a VISTA Volunteer, who later helped find students, put it,

> "I think often before people start talking about things substantively together they really have to do a little b.s.ing--you have to get a little feeling on the table--and I guess what I thought was productive was that there were a lot of thoughts

> put on the table for a first meeting. When I first came in here, I had very definite ideas about what was right and I met with resistance..."

But this concept of working out ideas together was by no means deeply rooted. Another advisor, Mike, regarded as a radical and excellent high school teacher impatiently cut in at one point in the meeting, exclaiming to me, "It's your school--tell us what it's there for and we'll go from there."

The dilemma of where collaboration or self-direction starts--how deeply and fully it can inform one's intention, thought, and behavior--continued to emerge meeting after meeting and into the summer. If I were to tell the staff precisely what to do and we then did it together, would the program be collaborative? If I were to set only the aim of the school--tell the staff "what it's there for"--and we worked together from there, would the program be collaborative? If I set no conditions whatsoever and we decided together what the aim of the program was to be, would the program necessarily end up being collaborative?

These questions were never argued out directly, but people's behavior showed them to be unresolved. When conflict was high and a common decision seemed difficult, students or staff would often turn to me in frustration and say, "Well, in the end it's your responsibility, so why don't you make the decision rather than create all this confusion?" Or the dilemma would manifest itself in contradictions people made. For example, Mike, the very advisor who at our second meeting wished me to define for him "what it's there for," insisted at the following meeting that the students should be able to define their own goals within the program rather than have them spelled out by the staff. Surely he didn't mean to imply that the students were more capable of setting goals for themselves than the staff (?).

His apparent contradiction went unnoticed. Instead, fierce and loud argument erupted as to whether the goal of the program for the students was specifically to send them to college:

Rich: Form is more important than content; if you can get with kids, it matters a lot less what you teach them.

Sam: Well, legally you are limited in that you are supposed to have a program that will get low-income kids, who wouldn't otherwise go into college.

Corky: Did we decide that was the purpose...(background talk, loud laughter, interruption)

Sam (loudly): I urge we stick to the intent of the funding.

Mike: What defines the program is not Congress but the kids.

Greg: We agree that in some sense our object is to get kids into college, but that doesn't help us decide what to do.

Sam; What you've got to do is (a) convince these kids they're worth something because we know they don't believe they're worth anything, and (b) that they can make it because they've never made it before and they're not willing to try again most of them...

Rick: Is this making it to college?

Mike: I think we've got to get this college bug out of our bonnet.

Sam: *You* want to convince them they're *not* going to make it...

Greg: Why should "making it" be identified with eight more years of school?

Sam: You want to teach him to be a bricklayer?
(undertone: Yes, why not?)

Sam: But this isn't an apprentice program for being a bricklayer.

Mike: It's an apprentice program for being a human being.

I had felt helpless during this argument. Persons seemed to be sniping at one another right and left, using high ideals ("convince these kids they're worth something", "an apprentice program for being a human being") as their weapons. If "form is more important than content," we certainly were not yet controlling the form of our conversation so as to be mutually productive. After the meeting I once again felt depressed and anxious. We seemed to be arguing in circles, rehashing points already raised without arriving at any fundamental agreement of making any progress.

In retrospect, and after seeing many other "idealistic" groups engage in internecine warfare of a ferocity they would immediately condemn in anyone else, I realized that a fundamental reason why this occurs is that most persons do not sense that they can apply their ideals to their own immediate behavior. Their ideals are always aimed at others or at the future. They are too busy in the present moment formulating and expressing these ideals to pay attention to the actual quality and effects of their behavior. The result is not merely that they fall into contradictions between their ideal thoughts and their actual behavior--such, after all, is no more than the material of self-directed learning. But, more destructively, their attitude does not recognize the possibility of experiential contradictions and therefore forecloses inquiry into them and resolution of them. Instead, they tend to propagate the very inconsistencies between thought and action which they ideally abhor.

But why should my response to this situation be an emotion of helplessness? Did I expect that everyone else would already be familiar practitioners of the process of self-directed learning, which I myself was only beginning to formulate? Was not my aim and my job precisely to open up the possibility of self-directed learning to students and staff? Why feel helpless, anxious, and depressed as the full scope of the job presented itself to me concretely?

As I thought about my reactions, I realized that my sense of helplessness was still another derivative of my fear of conflict, and especially of my fear of conflict with older persons. (Both Sam and Mike--the main antagonists during the argument of the third meeting--

were considerably older than I). My [redacted] analysis of others distance from self-directed learning might be accurate enough, but I had to be careful to include my own feelings within my awareness too. Otherwise, I might attack others with my analysis, thinking I did so to help them "see the light", but actually doing it to avoid feeling helpless. I would be attacking them with high ideals as weapons, just what I felt was ineffective about what they were doing to one another.

WAYS OF FORECLOSING LEARNING

The following week I attempted to raise this limitation of mine as a problem for the group. I will include a relatively large portion of that meeting's discussion below, with an accompanying commentary because it illustrates so well various members' implicit orientations to the possibility of collaborative, self-directed learning. Especially, it provides examples of experiential contradictions between thought (the content of a verbal statement) and behavior (the effect a statement has on a conversation).

(#1) Bill: A feeling I personally had of a difficulty in confronting others, especially older people here in ways that were useful to me...the long argument between Sam and Mike that took place which I didn't find helpful...still, I didn't find it possible to intervene at all and say what I felt.	(#1) Here, I was trying to express my feeling as a personal unresolved emotional dilemma which invites existential inquiry.

(#2) David: Yet we saw something really important—a basic conflict of orientation.	(#2) David immediately shifts the focus away from the personal to a general characterization of the conversation, as though to reaffirm its value in the face of an attack by me. IMPLICATION: If one (in this case Bill) feels a conversation poses a dilemma for him, he disvalues it. COROLLARY: One does not value facing existential dilemmas.
(#3) Bill: Yes, I was glad that we could have open conflict, but I thought I saw people zooming from one end of the spectrum to the other.	(#3) I avoid the basic conflict between David's and my focus by joining him in a general characterization of the previous week.
(#4) Mike: You're looking for an immediate payoff that you've no right to expect, that you're not going to get this early in the game. You expect us to be functioning as a viable whole which we're not—we're largely spare parts still.	(#4) Mike's orientation is not to inquire into his or my behavior, but to defend the whole conversation, regardless of whether it was competent behavior. IMPLICATION I: To inquire into one's actual behavior is to attack his competence. COROLLARY: One's self-esteem is based more on a static sense of competence than on a dynamic competence to inquire into

and correct any particular effort one is making. IMPLICATION II: Inquiry into actual behavior is only valuable when competent behavior could have been expected. COROLLARY: One does not value consciously facing processes likely to fail. DERIVATIVE: One does not value gaining new competencies except through success-experiences in learning.

(#5) Rick: The argument was basic for a time; then it beacme dysfunctional. I think the problem was it became personal--a slapping contest. If you (Bill) want the group to move in a direction it behooves you to move in that direction. It depends on what you want to get out of the group. You called the people together.

(#5) Rick recommends external direction by the leader (me), consistently attempting to solve my problem by external direction (i.e. by offering me advice). Since I had just owned to feelings which prevented me from intervening, his simple directive to me to intervene amounts to a punishment for my bad behavior ("Don't you ever do that again!"). IMPLICATION: The way to banish 'weakness' is to attack it. COROLLARY: Don't admit weakness, or you'll open yourself to attack.

(#6) Joe: I wasn't here last week. You said something about age being a factor but I would say that that's irrelevant. If you're chairing the meeting and you feel the meeting is going the wrong way, I certainly wouldn't take the attitude that I couldn't say something to any particular member of the group no matter what the age. And if they keep going in another direction then I think that as Chairman you are obligated to come in with the rest of the group.	(#6) Joe repeats the same lesson but more gently. When he says that age is irrelevant, he is obviously trying to help me to get over my 'hangup', yet his method is to tell me my feeling is irrelevant. IMPLICATION: Don't pay attention to your feelings.
(#7) Bill: I agree with you in principle, but in practice it is a personal problem for me.	(#7) I try again to emphasize that it is a personal, emotional fact which I am asking for help in working through.
(#8) Rick: Then we have to throw it back at you and say there's nothing we can do. That's something you'll have to figure out.	(#8) IMPLICATION: Emotional matters are private; others can't help with them; they should not be talked about. COROLLARY: The inside personal world and the outside public world are distinct and separate. CONCLUSION based on all the foregoing implications and
(#9) Joe: I think that what we're saying is none of us here would feel a personal feeling	

because you're going to call us down.

(#10) Bill: Yes, I find that response helpful and that's why I wanted to raise it, because I thought it would be easier for me in the future to be open about any feeling if I raised it.

corollaries: Attempts to attain self-directed learning are not valuable because there is no such process. (The various implications are shown in the figure on the following page.)

CUTTING, PARRYING, SYNTHESIZING, INTERRUPTING

(#11) Mike: If something pains you, say something about it, for heaven's sakes! I mean really.

(#11) This is said impatiently, as though any small child ought to understand this simple rule of behavior. Thus, in practice it punishes me for owning to my difficulty in speaking at certain times. Its form, as well as the form of most of the preceding comments, discourages the very process which its content purports to encourage.

(#12) Chad: I would hope you would too, Bill. I think we all recognize that you are the top man here--you're the director of the project, and certainly your

ASPECTS OF AN IMPLICITLY ANTI-EDUCATIONAL WORLDVIEW

Feelings are irrelevant to relationships

Emotions are private not relational; they should not be shared - others can't help with them

The inside personal world and the outside public world are regarded as distinct and irreconcilable (thus protecting oneself from having to recognize relations between outer events and inner feelings or personal behavior and its outer effects)

To inquire into one's behavior is to attack his competence

IMPLICIT PSYCHOLOGY

One does not value consciously facing self-world existential dilemmas (for they require inquiry which might undermine one's self-concept)

IMPLICIT ONTOLOGY

There is no such process as self-directed learning

Self-esteem is based on a static self-concept rather than on dynamic inquiry (leading one to protect his self-concept regardless of its validity)

One disvalues conversations that pose dilemmas

One does not value consciously facing processes likely to fail (for failure would imply inadequacy, which implies a need to change, which is impossible within the scope of a static self-concept)

To admit weakness is to open oneself to attack (for weakness is particularly threatening to a static self-concept unacquainted with the possibility of transforming weakness to strength through inquiry)

The way to banish weakness is to attack it

Inquiry into behavior is valuable only when competent behavior can be expected (i.e. when the results will be positive and confirmatory)

IMPLICIT BEHAVIORAL NORMS

background and as far as information about the history of this thing is certainly greater than ours is individually.

(#13) Bill: That's not what I feel I'm asking for--some reaffirmation that I'm the head...

(#14) Chad: Not in deference to status...

(#15) Jack: Can I try something.. I think it's what Bill's getting at...I think it's a lot more general than just Bill's feeling. Last week this argument got going and I got really angry, I think a lot of people did, and I was responding especially to Sam as a type--Establishment and all the bad things--I didn't come out and say these things, not because of my position in the group, well, partly because he's older, he's the Man, he's in, but partly because it wouldn't have been helpful and I think that's what

(#15) Here Jack is attempting to explore his reactions without defending them, the first contribution to self-directed learning besides mine.

Bill's saying. What good would it've been to say, Boy do you tick me off...	
(#16) Mike: So, I did.	
(#17) Rick: What I get suspicious about is everybody comes down on somebody if they're not X-type liberal. Sam brought up some practical questions...I got mad at everybody else because I think there's a kind of inflexibility about the kind of flexible thinking we have around this table...just the way you (Jack) were talking a minute ago.	(#17) Rick first "comes down on" Jack for "coming down on" Sam. Yet Jack did not "come down on" Sam at the time, and now has offered his feelings in a self-questioning mode. Thus, the effect of Rick's comment is once again to punish an effort at self-directed learning. He succeeds in cutting off Jack's exploration:
(#18) Jack: I was aware of that, and that's why I didn't say anything.	(#18) Jack now defends himself against the attack.
(#19) Rick: But these are the kind of things that will sometime have to be thrown on the table.	(#19) Now Rick attacks from another angle. "Things will have to be thrown on the table", he insists, unaware that he has just finished attacking a person who had put "things on the table".

(#20) Joe: They certainly will...

(#21) David: I'd like to get to what the argument meant to me. I experience a great deal of frustration in dealing with the problems of public education. That means that I am inclined to react on an emotional level to certain kinds of suggestions which I'm quite sure are not wholly relevant to the problem as I see it.

(#22) Greg: I was furious--I didn't mind the guidelines, but I thought Sam was using them where they were irrelevant. Yes, the guidelines talk about college, but what that has to do with how we treat ninth graders is nothing. And all I felt was that this was being misused--it was being used as a club. I didn't feel there was much point in saying anything, I wouldn't have been very polite.

(#21, 22) These two comments seem neutral in terms of encouraging or discouraging existential inquiry. They offer information on reactions from two other sources which helps, but they are offered as complete and closed rather than as open to new insight.

(#23) David: And in connection with the program I have this feeling of openness, of not knowing where to turn, and a substantial amount of skepticism about what a summer program can do, which led me to start thinking this week really in terms of what this program can do for me. Maybe I can learn something to use on a broader scale with kids...

(#23) This statement appears more experientially open than the two previous ones, but David seems to be pursuing his own line of thought and experience without opening or contributing to the realization of the intent of the whole conversation.

(#24) Bill: I identify quite a lot with what you said about this past week, David, partly from the feeling that if kids see teachers doing things that they really care about for themselves, then they will really want to do something for themselves--a model rather than pushing it into them. In relation to the question of last week's conversation, one of the things I felt was that there were very strong emotions occurring, but what was happening as

(#24) Here I make a grand effort to pull all the threads of the past and present session together and to become specific about the kinds of behavior I find helpful and unhelpful for self-directed learning. My silent effort in the previous moments had been to remain conscious of all the different threads of our conversation until amongst their tensions I sensed a converging direction and could express it. I'm not sure the result can be called elegant or convincing, especially given the next comment.

I saw it was that they weren't being gotten to as fruitfully as possible becuase we were rationalizing them. We were talking the rationalizations, which may or may not have been very much connected with the feeling we were having. And why I think that occurred is sort of the differing response I felt again when I tried to say something about my feeling just a little while ago. I heard three differing responses to me then, only one of which was very helpful. One was on one extreme--Rick's response--well, that's your problem. Another theme was, well, don't worry about that; and the third response which was somewhat helpful was, okay, we would appreciate it if you could say that. But the first two kinds of responses were responses which I don't think could help me to explore feeling very much, and I just wondered if we create the kind of atmosphere where we don't explore our own feeling but instead keep making arguments...

(#25) Mike: Bill, what do you want from us as a group? I think maybe we'd better get a few ground rules straight at the outset. You've expressed a considerable amount of disappointment in the minutes, and obviously things aren't going as happily as you'd want in terms of what you'd like us to do for you. Now how do you see your role, your relationship to the rest of the group; what are we, an advisory body? Are we going to structure this thing for you? I don't understand our relationship.

(#25) Pleased at my momentary ability to use our immediate behavior to give the group a sense of my hopes and expectations, I am stunned by Mike's interruption, asking me to tell him precisely what I believed I was telling him--i.e. what I wanted from the group, what relationship I wanted to create. Clearly there is a considerable gap between our points of view as to what is specific and informative.

(#26) Bill: First of all, I think that by always ending with DILEMMAS I expressed my sense of failure rather than any sense of success I have. So I should say I don't feel a tremendous sense of failure about what's been

(#26) Instead of confronting this difference between us directly, my diplomatic instinct for avoiding conflict dictates my response--an effort to bridge the gap between us before either of us have fully realized that it is there.

happening, and especially today... I'm very excited by the way we are moving today. I see the group as trying to do what we're going to do this summer--find out what we're about--so that I see us trying to confront every problem as we come to it, and deal with it. One of the first problems, and one that will last through the summer and all through next year too, I hope, is the question of our aim.

(#27) Mike: If that's the case this is going to be one big cathartic session, and you really can't be terribly upset over where things go, clashes and things of this sort, when it doesn't seem to produce dividends right off the bat. It seems to me, again, that you're expecting too much, neatly packaged, off the assembly line, and it just doesn't happen that way.

(#27) Mike once again returns to the theme and implications of his earlier comment (#4).

(#28) Bill: Is that the impression that I'm giving you, others of you?	(#28) In the hope either of breaking through a rigid concept of Mike's or of understanding what behavior of mine gives the impression he reports, I check with others.
(#29) David: I experience you just the other way around--I experience it so open that...I don't know where I am even though I belong to the organization...I've got a good sense of what I'm building *me* for, but I'm not sure I know what I'm building anyone else for.	(#29) The one response Mike permits before returning to the attack tends to disconfirm his view of me.
(#30) Mike: The problem is that to a considerable extent you're going to be taking your model from the existing structure, which is bankrupt.	(#30) But by choosing to attack he avoids inquiry into the discrepancy between his and David's perceptions of my behavior.
(#31) Bill: *Who*'s going to take a model from the current structure? To keep answering Mike's question about my view of this group--it seems to me the way in which we can be different not only from	(#31) A defensive yelp escapes me at this accusation, but I then proceed again to try to bridge the gap between us by a rationalization of my aspirations, rather than by a direct confrontation of his behavior. Twice

public schools but a lot of other organizations is that most organizations impose order from the top down, and we would be doing the same if we decided we would encourage dropouts or encourage college, if we did either irrespective of the kids. I see that instead of imposing order that it is possible to discover some sort of order, and that's what I think we're about [illegible], and why there's a lot of apparent chaos, and it seems to me really worth that. In fact I don't even like to talk in terms of "worth"--this is the only way I can imagine going forward: so I see us as trying to do that now, just as I see us trying to do that with the students this summer.

he has interrupted--once me, once others' response to my question (#28). Both times he indicates an inability to understand what is happening in front of him, for he asks me a question I was in the midst of answering and then asserts we are using the same model as most organizations in the midst of a conversation which, because of its personal quality, its abstract quality, and its tendency to be confrontative of the leader, the usual model of organizing would have prevented.

By no means was all of the fourth meeting self-analytical in orientation. A great part of it was spent in sharing recent impressions of the area's public schools among staff members who worked in them or had visited them, and in devising student admissions forms and procedures. Once again, as after the second meeting, there was a general sense of pleasure at our productivity, and I was pleased that I had been able to be aware enough of my feelings and behavior during the quoted episode to express them as much as I did.

DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE SPRING MEETINGS

Nevertheless, with each succeeding meeting my sense of the magnitude of the contradiction between my ideal and our actual behavior increased. At the same time I saw how unaware most people were, not only of the actual effects of their behavior, but also of the very possibility of becoming aware. As the above transcript suggests, much of the behavior at our meetings shielded the individual, and discouraged others, from experiential inquiry. Nor was my continuing tendency to avoid conflict in so many small ways a happy quality at a time when the conflict between my ideal-but-not-so-congruently-transformed orientation and that of others needed elucidation.

Of course, this perspective on the early meetings focuses entirely on their shortcomings and is not sufficient for evaluating them. For example, my sense of the repetitiveness of arguments is mitigated by the fact that almost half of the members present at the second and third meetings were there for the first time, testing whether they would become staff members. This process of using staff meetings as a forum for testing personal commitment to the program certainly paid dividends. Several people who were otherwise highly qualified deselected themselves because they felt they needed more structure in order to work well. Since the program never lost its hectic, oscillating, ambiguous, emotional quality, they probably would not have worked well during the summer, and it is well that they were not lured to participate on the basis of rhetorically-shared ideals. At the same time, a third of the program's staff (8) was attracted to it directly through these meetings. And our advisors became actively involved and personally helpful rather than mere representatives-on-paper of their various organizations.

Another perspective comes if we look at these meetings macroscopically rather than analyzing members' behavior microscopically. We see a self-consciously non-directive leader, collaborative decisions, open conflict, and reflection upon the fundamental aim of the organization. All these qualities are rare events both in class groups with teachers and in work groups with bosses. Classical teaching and management theory both advise leaders to direct and control their groups, to define work-objectives for the group, and to avoid conflict. And a considerable body of empirical organizational research has verified that teachers and other leaders reflect this advice in their behavior. Certainly the quotes from our meetings demonstrate the extent to which group members behaved in externally-directive and inquiry-discouraging ways when they attempted to define and control what we were to do together. Yet, at the same time, the large-scale events of these meetings introduced the members to a different kind of organization than that to which their interpersonal styles seemed to be habituated.

As we continued meeting through the spring, coordinating student admissions, developing a curriculum, and outlining a daily schedule, I continued to feel the gap between my own and others' understanding of learning. But I increasingly avoided this source of conflict between me and others and focused the meetings on external tasks. I feared that my orientation was too self-analytical for most and that to insist upon it would be to impose it. Meanwhile, on the macroscopic level, we began to experience some of the benefits of collaborative functioning. Members tended to feel free to contribute information to decisions, and the decisions themselves were made quickly, while remaining open to change. Also, the very structure we were developing for the summer gave us the chance to begin the collaborative decision-making process all over again with the students, rather than imposing our "wisdom" upon them. Morris' and my ideal curriculum had been so much of a dream compared to most staff members' actual abilities and interests that we did not attempt to realize it. Instead, we devised a core curriculum which focused on different topics from week to week. During the first week, the curriculum would focus on new beginnings, using popular records, painting, and poetry to consider the theme. We would spend the week at a camp in the woods where we (staff and students) would determine the rules, disciplinary procedures, and daily schedule for the rest of the summer.

TRYING TO EVALUATE THE MEETINGS

After the spring meetings, one staff member, David, looked back upon them as follows:

> The summer I look forward to as a laboratory; for trying things out. I think this is essential for all of us.
>
> I guess one of the things I like about it, though at first I was skeptical, is the way the furnishing of the laboratory has

> gone on; how laboratory principles--a universe of discourse--has been set up; how a community of interest has grown out of the exploration of different feelings.
>
> Partly the reason I'm now pleased is that I feel you (Bill) have been handling yourself better...I feel you are most naive on the level of how feelings work out. I see you as more chairmanlike this last month, correlating and pulling things together.

I was complimented at the outset of this statement. I felt I had succeeded, after all, in communicating my sense of the importance of experiential inquiry. Then in the last part of his statement David reveals a perception of the spring meetings directly contrary to mine, leaving me more uneasy than pleased by our rhetorical kinship. Whereas I saw the early meetings as crucial in setting an atmosphere, he seemed to find the later meetings more valuable. And whereas I feared I had utterly surrendered my effort to lead the school towards self-directed learning during the later meetings, he saw in them my best leadership.

As I looked back over the spring before the summer session, I was highly ambivalent. I wrote:

> My most general evaluation at this point is that our innovative energies are given free reign by our organizational structure, but that our interpersonal competence is not high enough on the average to handle all the challenges it will face... Whether this condition is primarily hopeful or primarily dangerous I am not sure.

"Interpersonal competence" is a concept which has been developed by Chris Argyris. Basically, if one's behavior permits others to increase their sense of self-esteem and self-acceptance, it is regarded as being interpersonally competent. If, on the other hand, it tends to attack their sense of self-esteem, it is regarded as reflecting low interpersonal competence. High interpersonal competence usually creates conditions of trust, undistorted communications, collaboration, and inquiry among persons. Low interpersonal competence tends to create conditions of mistrust, distortion, external direction, and defensiveness. The reader can easily see the close relation between this concept of interpersonal competence and my concept of self-directed learning. In both cases, a person strives to orient himself in a situation, not by external, coercive power, but according to all the information he can attain; and he strives to create conditions in which he can obtain accurate information. The concept of interpersonal competence focuses on the interpersonal characteristics of such striving, while the concept of self-directed learning focuses on the personal function of such striving.

My feeling, then, was that the staff members' behavioral orientation was not, on the whole, towards self-directed learning. Yet our collaborative form of organization and the volatile and counterdependent attitudes of the students we had chosen to work with both promised us many conflicts and unexpected situations with virtually no control in the form of external direction over these situations. The only way control would be established would be through experiential inquiry--through collaborative self-directed learning. But neither staff nor students would be oriented towards such inquiry at the outset, except insofar as staff members understood and maintained their commitment to collaborative organizational decision-making. Was this common staff commitment a hopeful basis for increasing self-esteem on the part of the students and for eventual deliberate, conscious self-directed learning? Or was it merely a dangerous shell which would not long hide a lack of experiential inquiry and therefore a lack of control within the program?

V. A NEW BEGINNING (I)

Profoundly anxious about whether the program would begin that afternoon as scheduled, I paced the New Haven streets at dawn one Sunday morning towards the end of June. It was too late to change anything. In the week before our departure for the camp, the practical complexities of taking 80 inexperienced people to a primitive camp for a week became nerve-rackingly evident. Busses to be scheduled, linen rented, food and utensils for wood-burning stoves to be bought, cabins to be assigned, curricular materials to be prepared and shipped--new details occurred to someone each day, and I was sure two or three necessities had probably been overlooked altogether.

At the same time, we had continued our admissions process for students right up to the final day, hoping to convince some students to join us who hadn't been near school in quite a while and could see no reason to try that brand of poison again. So, address lists, to be given to parents and students, were run off Saturday night and even then turned out not ot reflect precisely who piled into the buses and cars Sunday afternoon.

To my relief, children and parents, dressed in their Sunday-best, laden with suitcases, began to appear half an hour early, in the courtyard of the Yale college, where we would spend our last six weeks. Lemonade and cookies were being served by some tutors, address lists were being handed out at the gate, and the rest of us found ourselves in pleasant and animated conversation about our intentions for the summer with parents and other relatives of the students. Within an hour of the arrival of the first family, I found myself besieged by three eager friends of prospective Upward Bound students, wishing to know how they could be a part of the program. Indeed, hardly a day was to pass for the rest of the summer when one or two New Haven teenagers did not approach me, or simply try to slip into a dormitory, lunch line, or class, wishing to join the program. This became one of those small and much-needed indicators that despite the trials, tribulations, and conflicts, the students felt good enough about the program to speak of it positively to their friends.

After my little speech made to the assembled multitude about how we really were going to be a different kind of school, we loaded the buses and all available cars and made off for the camp. Or, almost all of us did. As I lagged behind to lock the gates and make one final effort to contact the three students who had not shown up, an old car pulled to the curb. A slouched-over, battered-looking man dragged a boy from the back seat by the scruff of his neck. Was I connected to this school-business, the man wanted to know. At my nod, he thrust the dark-olive, glowering boy towards me: "A Max Pirelli s'posed to be in your program?" Another nod--my voice had yet to catch up with the pace. "Well, that's him," he said, retreating already towards the car, "He needs it, caught him trying to run away this afternoon, his mother called me and I had to leave the ball game to find him." And he was off.

ABSOLUTELY ZERO INFLUENCE

Max declined all offers of conversation on the way to the camp, avoided every scheduled activity and all associations for the next days, and gained a reputation among the staff as the least-known, least approachable student in the program. Then, on our third night, he disappeared altogether. By 3 a.m. Rob Gilman, one of the Associate Directors, and I had contacted the State Police, one of our teachers who commuted from New Haven to the camp, and finally Max's mother who we'd hoped not to disturb. The teacher, who knew his way around the community well, stopped by an all-night pool hall the next morning and, as he had expected, picked up Max, who returned to the camp passively enough. He didn't have a word to say about the whole episode, except that he'd scratched his legs walking several miles through fields to the main highway.

It won't hurt to finish off the story of Max's summer right here, for he was the one student in the program on whom it had no evident effect whatsoever. How constructive, significant, or durable the summer's effects were on other students are questions which subsequent events often raise and sometimes answer. But in Max's case there was no evidence that he ever established any relationship whatsoever to anything or anyone in the program, beyond panhandling a little pot and beating up one smaller kid several times. He gave others few opportunities to engage him at all and never permitted any conversation, which by mischance commenced to flower. He, too, like our continual 'applicants' became a measure of the summer's success. He represented Absolute Zero, -270° Farenheit, as far as "Program Influence" was concerned. Curiously, although he was not nearly so vexatious, scary, or insistently time-consuming as many other students, I am sure he was also universally the least well-liked student in the program. Or maybe that's not so curious after all.

On my arrival at the camp everyone was huddled, soaking wet in the dining hall. Wads of towels which were to last the week lay used and trampled on the floor. Apparently there had been a brief thundershower shortly after the arrival of the caravan. Although the buses had unloaded by the dining hall, most of the students and staff had been caught outside, having begun the quarter-mile downhill trek to the cabins by the lake.

Staff members had begun the trek to get linen and blankets down to the cabins and assign beds. The students, however, had been pulled by a far different sense of purpose. The upcoming thundershower had set the bullfrogs around the lake to croaking, and their chorus in the distance sounded to some of the boys like nothing so much as a rival gang preparing for a rumble. Having never seen a bullfrog, they were not to be dissuaded in this belief.

Shortly, with six or ten of the toughest blacks as self-appointed leaders, fringed by several white aspirants and flanked by a dozen or so giggling, shrieking girls, a crusade to the lake shore was underway, only to be cut short by the rain. Not until later in the week, when one enterprising student captured and boxed both a snake and a bullfrog, could the students be persuaded that the noise was harmless. In the meantime, although they came to realize that the various animal sounds they heard at night were indeed those of animals and not of rival gangs, they remained particularly afraid of them.

THE "END" OF THE FIRST DAY

Indeed, this fear, we gradually came to realize, was one of the primary reasons for their restlessness the first new nights. 'Restlessness' is a tame word, which can be applied now, in retrospect. At the time, it seemed to the staff like utter and malicious chaos. After showing a feature-length movie and a period of ping-pong and volleyball that first evening, we asked everyone to retire to the cabins to find their beds and get acquainted with the other members of their tutor groups, who would be rooming in one another's proximity. There being but six flashlights altogether and the students being fearful of the dark, this process began to unfold in an orderly fashion, a reassuring event since suppertime had been a trying experience. The students seemed to be utterly unaccustomed to any kind of group cooperation, somehow disappearing and leaving most of the table-setting, cooking, and dishwashing to staff members. This time, however, the students negotiated the hill to the cabins together, the boys and girls separating into their distinct areas quietly.

Greg, Rob, Valery, the other Associate Director, Rick, the Vista Volunteer who had helped recruit many of the students, and I spent a pleasant five minutes congratulating ourselves in hushed tones near the cabins on the end of the first day, and trading first impressions of various students. Then we heard the first shrieks from the girls' cabins. The girls were being attacked by the boys. Well, that was only to be expected, vexatious for the staff for a while and fun for the kids. Or was that all there was to it? Two of the girls in the program had been out of school most of their ninth grade year bearing children. A frightfully high percentage of these girls dropped out of high school pregnant. The chief reason we had been unable to attract any Puerto Rican girls to the program, despite help within the Puerto Rican community, was their mothers' fear of pregnancy in a residential program. Other parents, too, just that afternoon, had voiced questions and fears regarding 'parietal hours' and were not at all reassured, though they remained polite, when we informed them that we intended to set that policy and others with the students. However inconsistent and unable some of these parents might be to meet the very demands they would have us make, we still carried a heavy and special responsibility as a residential staff for fifteen and sixteen year-old students.

Perhaps these various concerns ran through our minds during the first half hour of good-naturedly chasing the boys and telling them to get back to their cabins. As the night wore on, however, there ceased to be time for such leisurely considerations. Not only did the boys' marauding expeditions not cease; it seemed that the girls themselves were inviting the boys in, making assignations through the windows, opening doors for the boys when the women tutors were otherwise occupied, and slipping out themselves. Since there was no evidence that any of the kids wanted to cooperate at all, nor in any way respected or feared the authority of the staff, it appeared utterly impossible to prevent them from doing as they would.

Twelve staff members with no legal, familial, or organizational sanctions (we had yet to agree on rules and enforcements) and little personal influence were stripped of all means of control over sixty, sometimes frighteningly abusive, energetic teenagers. The frighteningly abusive challenges by students seemed to occur when staff members, reaching the end of their resources and patience, acted scared, formal, or threatening. The students seemed to know that they had won at that point and would press their advantage by cooly demanding what the staff member intended to do, or throwing a cursing tantrum at an uncertain white woman tutor.

And at the same time another kind of interaction was beginning to take place. Fewer staff members were available for 'chasing' duties as the night wore on because increasingly they found themselves calming down one or two students and entering into their first conversations with them. It was during these conversations that several boys first confessed that they were banding together and making a lot of noise because they were afraid of the forest sounds. Such discussions sometimes led to immediate 'zoology lessons,' the tutor identifying each animal sound and the characteristics of the animal in question. The following day several lunch table conversations could be heard with one student deriding the others who reported disliking the animal sounds, and self-importantly (but of course casually) relaying his tidbits of knowledge to them. Other discussions during the night turned to a comparison of the city and the country, of the, to them, known-fears of the street versus unknown-fears of the forest. Participants in these conversations provided some of the initial fuel for class arguments the following morning on the week's curricular theme of 'beginnings' or 'experimenting with the strange.'

SHIFTING SCENARIOS

The scenario of alarms and chases continued until dawn. As two or three staff members would gather during the night for brief interludes of mutual support, the obvious topic of conversation was, what is happening? The answers became much clearer after two more nights. The second night was a virtual repeat performance of the first, again lasting till dawn. This time, however, the girls' role shifted from aiding and abetting the boys to aiding and abetting the women tutors in securing their cabins against entry. In a day's time the women tutors had gained sufficient confidence from enough of the girls to learn that many of them, while they very much enjoyed the excitement of the nighttime escapades, as well as the attention paid them by the boys, were very concerned and frightened by the possibilities of pregnancy and of being used rather than cared for by someone.

The third night, dreaded by the now-exhausted staff, turned out to be docile. What had happened to our rampaging, chaotic barbarians of two nights before? Part of the answer was that they too were exhausted and thus more prone to sleep. Another part of the answer was that the intense interactions of the past two days had rendered the environment familiar and non-threatening to them. How intense these interactions had been struck me when I realized that after two days I knew not only the names of all sixty students but also some event or conversation that I had shared with each of them or that was common knowledge throughout the camp.

Different staff members attached different weights to various theoretical explanations of these events. There was the "Geographical" theory, already alluded to, which held that the kids were simply scared of the new environment. This theory leaned on the evidence of fear of animal noises, as well as the constant what-sounded-like bitter complaining by many students about the primitive conditions (having to make our own food, no heat in the cabins, having to walk to that shed with no flusher).

DOC, TOOTHACHES, AND THE PHYSIOLOGICAL THEORY

Then there was the "Physiological" theory which held in its extreme form, that these kids were no different from middle class teenagers except that poverty resulted in physiological damages that prevented them from behaving in orderly, approved ways. This theory rested on the rather surprising discovery during the third day that Sonny Bates and Seth Phillips, two of the most unstinting instigators of the raids, were unable to sleep because of severe chronic tooth aches. They received only pain-killing shots when they visited the dentist because they couldn't afford the cost of longer-term solutions. Having during the spring gratefully received the offer of some young dentists in New Haven to work for free on our students, we sent them their first patients that day. Thereafter, the only problem that Sonny and Seth presented us in regard to their sleeping habits was how to wake them up.

The "Physiological" theory gained strength not only from this direct evidence, but also from two other factors. One was that, unlike the

"Geographical" theory, it shed some light on why students chose their particular way of dealing with this new situation. The second factor was the corroborating evidence supplied by 'Doc.'

Doc was a third year medical student who had agreed to spend the week with us in the wilderness, since we were so remote from medical facilities. The students named him, and the staff picked up on the name. I never saw him again after that first week and can't for the life of me remember his real name, but that first week he was a key figure, undoubtedly the most sought-after individual in the program. At all hours of day and night some student was trying to find Doc.

In part, this behavior became evidence used to support a third theory--the "Psycho-Social", theory, which held that the primary deprivation from which these students suffered was neglect, both at home and at school. Therefore, what they could not really believe--and needed to test by their antics the first two nights and by their constant visits to Doc for imagined knee scrapes and digestive problems--was our willingness to attend to them.

But in part also, the visits to Doc revealed a host of genuine physiological problems that accounted for a lot of apparently anti-social, self-destructive behavior. Many of the non-readers among our students (about half of whom averaged a third grade reading level) required glasses but never before had been diagnosed. They avoided reading like the plague, partly because they could not make out the words. By the end of the summer twenty students had new pairs of eyeglasses, our original budget for medical supplies having ~~being~~ far exceeded.

There were real problems of digestion too. Two of our students were so accustomed to eating french fries and ~~milk-shakes~~ cokes that they were literally unable to stomach our regular meals at camp (until we brought in extra supplies of potato chips and kool-ade). Needless to say, this non-diet could severely lower the students' energy levels. Some girls' cramps during menstrual periods were aggravated by fear and lack of knowledge about their condition and lack of sanitary napkins to treat it easily. The fact that such events were part of daily discourse ("Mary's on the rag") only served to perpetuate fears, misinformation, and unwillingness by the girls to appear in public at such times. During the regular school year this situation could account for absences that would abrogate whatever effort the girl might make to keep up with the curriculum. During the summer this situation repeatedly complicated efforts by the women tutors to rouse their groups in the morning.

SISSY'S PAINS

Doc also gave us our first insights into the incredible range of ills among our students which straddled the border between the physiological and the psychological. At the most general level was the oft observed low pain threshold of many students. This was most obvious among the girls because its existence among boys was to some extent hidden by the strong male norm of appearing impervious to pain. Thus, it was not until some tutors gained the confidence of Sonny and Seth that their toothaches were discovered. But once discovered, it became obvious that the pain which another person might have borne while going about his daily business was utterly distracting them from concentrated activity

Among the girls Milly Parson soon gained the preeminent reputation for painful ills. A day could not go by without her contracting a severe stomach ache or headache or uteral pain. It turned out that she had missed school two-thirds of the year because of such maladies. As the summer wore on, she spent increasing amounts of time in the Yale infirmary, complaining that the doctors never cured her.

From the first, Doc maintained that these ills were not merely feigned to gain attention, but rather physiologically based. At the same time, pain itself is preeminently a psychological process by which a malfunctioning part claims the attention of the whole person. If the person has other concerns, commitments, and goals, the pain can serve as an occasional reminder that the part needs attention at an appropriate moment. The relative predominance of the pain is influenced by the gravity and immediacy of the malfunction. But if the personality tends to be less organized, as is generally the case among adolescents unless they are compulsive, and if the person has a low level of self-esteem, as if often the case among compulsive or deprived persons, then his body becomes his highest level of stable organization and the only obvious vehicle for realizing possibilities-in-the-world. A threat to its integrity, however minor from the point of view of a person committed to other social values, becomes totally threatening and preoccupying to such a person.

Toward the end of the summer, after the nurses and doctors at the infirmary had virtually given up on Milly and more than insinuated that she was merely feigning her uteral problems, a complex story emerged. It turned out that her uterus was indeed infected. Milly had failed to clean herself carefully after engaging in intercourse, knowing nothing about such a procedure. At the same time, there was no observable reason why the infection had pained her so much. Another woman might never have suspected the infection until some test revealed it.

As members of the staff worked with Milly in drawing, writing, and dramatic role-playing during the summer and following year, however, it became evident that relationships with men were highly traumatic experiences for her. She hated and feared men, having long witnessed the parade of them that used and abused her mother, a parade that had started well before her unknown father; and at the same time she had picked up her mother's flirtatious style with men, as well as her tendency to measure her social value by how much a man wanted her--wanting, in turn, being calculated by his desire for her body, that being her only intrinsic value evident to her.

The resulting emotional contradicitons became visible in each of her relationships with boys, as she alternated quiet but ostentatious flirtation with loud and obstreporous villification of them. Her own deliberate strategy was also based on a precarious balance which precluded stable relationships but not suicide attempts. She hated a man the more he showed an interest in her, she once confided to me, hating him most if he had intercourse with her, thinking to use her and leave her. But, she continued, in fact it was she who was using the man, for what she wanted most in life was a child she could care for 'without no man to mess it up.' Her strategy was of course brilliantly and tragically self-reinforcing, since her style and emphasis first attracted men to her body, then ultimately drove them away, confirming her distrust of them.

I, too, eventually played one of these prepared roles. I personally tutored Milly quite intensively during the year after the first summer in math and English. Enough trust developed in our relationship that I was able both to confront her and kid with her about the very patterns of behavior I have been describing above. The very distance between us in terms of age, race, social position, and personal background probably emphasized our mutual inability to 'use' one another, making it easier for me to put an arm around her without seeming flirtatious or to speak impatiently without seeming uncaring. Then, just before the beginning of the second summer session, I married. And the session itself involved more students and staff than the first summer and more prearranged structuring of time. Milly and I saw one another rarely and briefly in the normal course of events. She felt dropped, betrayed, jealous. She became utterly apathetic and complaining. She aroused the whole campus and the fire department two late nights in a row by setting off false alarms. She made no progress. After the summer, although my formal connection with the program had ended, I visited her home twice to see her, leaving my number for her to call. Although she had called the previous year, she did not now. I had evidently shown my true colors as an untrustworthy man. The positive effects of the first year, however small and fragmentary, were probably more than negated by this final sequence.

This story, initially intended as an example of the interplay between physiological and psychological factors in determining our students' behavior, has certainly wandered across time, far past the first nights of the program. It has also wandered beyond the boundaries of evidence for the 'Physiological' theory of the students' behavior those first nights, and enters the territory of the third theory, which I've tagged the 'Psycho-Social' theory.

THE MYTH OF LUTHER AND MELINDA

The first full day of 'school' yielded an incident which not only further exemplifies the 'Psycho-social' theory, but also gained immediate recognition among staff members as a mythological archetype of inspired staff behavior when confronted by an intransigent student. As such it was told time and again when staff spirits were low, or when we wanted to make a visitor understand what we were trying to do.

The protagonists in the myth are Luther, a small, young black staff member, unable to pass his first year at college, despite enormous desire and effort, because of his inferior academic skills (and, consequently hired as an administrative assistant rather than tutor), and Melinda, a round-and-fiery-eyed, menacing, beautiful, foulmouthed black girl, so vehement towards teachers at her high school that the vice-principal had taken to suspending her immediately whenever she reappeared in school. The setting was the main lodge, up the hill a hundred yards beyond the dining hall, containing classroom space and a large central area where we showed movies, held general meetings, and played ping-pong and music. The issue was the one rule of the camp, "No smoking in the buildings," they being wood. The rule promised to require no active enforcement by the staff, since its utility was so self-evident and since there was no restriction on smoking outdoors where most activities, including classes, tended to occur anyway. Nevertheless, within minutes of bringing this one rule to the attention of the students at the end of our general meeting late the first morning, I noticed Melinda determinedly pacing about the hall alone, smoking a cigarette.

"Melinda, would you go outside if you're going to smoke?"

"Who the piss you think you is motherfucker? Mr. Big-Ass?"

At this point one-down in the repartee, but with a clear sense that I could easily descend much lower, I was permitted to edge towards the wings by Luther, who took over.

"Don't you want to cooperate with us, Melinda," he asked sweetly.

"Later for you. Little weenie; big words. Keep ya nose out-a ma ass, mine'll stay out-a yours," she replied moderately, suspicious but uncertain about his intentions.

"That sounds reasonable, Melinda, 'everyone mind his own business,'" he appeared to conclude with the same unfathomable sweetness as he ambled off.

I had preoccupied myself with some other person's less demanding inquiry as soon as Luther replaced me, but had kept one ear on their dialogue. I didn't intend to 'see' Melinda smoking again now, but I was a little disappointed that Luther had dropped it so easily.

Within a few seconds, however, Luther returned with a broom and began sweeping the ashes Melinda had dropped across the room and out the door.

Two trips took care of the already-fallen ashes. Luther now deferentially assumed a position two or three steps to the rear of Melinda, following her about inconspicuously. As soon as she flicked her next ash, he pounced on it eagerly with the broom, starting another trip to the door. She greeted his return with a glare.

"What the shit you doin'?" she asked contemptuously and as indifferently as possible.

"It's my job to be as accommodating as possible to the students, Melinda. Since it wasn't convenient for you to go outside just now to smoke, I thought I could keep the rest of the staff from getting angry at you by sweeping out the ashes. That way you can do whatever you want without anybody hassling you."

She apparently had no immediate comeback, so, attempting to avoid her one-down status, she turned away before the last words were out of his mouth, stamped out her cigarette, and made for the door. Luther swept out the butt, and I assumed the scene was over, a minor, momentary, psychological victory for Luther, with Melinda as defiant and ornery as ever.

Her wounded screech from somewhere outside notified me that I had again computed the score too soon. When I reached the window, I saw Melinda and Luther disappearing down the path over the lip of the hill, she marching haughtily ahead, turning occasionally to scream imprecations at him, he meekly protesting that he would stay out of her way, that he was merely trying to mind his own business as a staff member, etc.

Later that afternoon, Rob Gilman rushed up to me chortling and insisted that I drop everything and follow him. He led me down to the waterfront and pointed. Out on the lake were Melinda and Luther in a row boat, she regally commanding his every stroke from the back, he meekly complying, the true servant.

THE RIDICULOUS, USELESS, AND DISCRIMINATORY STAFF

Melinda was a complex, bright, proud woman, and she was not about to admit that she had enjoyed the attention or found someone willing to be useful to her. Instead, when she told the story that night to various staff members, with a huge victorious grin on her face, she reported what a ridiculous and useless little fairy Luther was, as shown by his inane behavior following her around.

"You pay him for that shit? I can do that. You discriminating against us students. You ought to be paying us equal with the staff."

Again and again throughout the summer Melinda demonstrated her consummate mastery at creating binds for staff members, so that they would have to act in ways that proved one or several of the following propositions:

(1) that they didn't really respect her freedom and individuality;

(2) that they didn't really care for her;

(3) that they didn't act consistently with their own principles;

(4) that no good ever came from cooperating with or trusting someone else.

For example, I remember the time she marched up to me to announce that she had stolen all the glass covers for the wall lights of the common room in our college.

"Oh?" I said a little wearily, trying to summon up the energy to gird my mental loins for the coming set-to.

"What ya going to do about it? You the one in charge. You sposed to prevent that kind of thing. What ya going to do?"

(Ugh, here goes.) "I guess I'll try to get them back, Melinda. Where are they?"

"In my room. And you can't go in there without my permission."

"You wouldn't want to go over to your room and bring them back yourself, would you?"

"No, I ain't going over that way today," with a big smile, enjoying the gradual buildup to the climax of her latest invention.

"Well, would you give me permission to get them?"

"You crazy? What would I go to all the trouble of stealin' them for an' then let you get them?"

"Well, I guess it's hopeless then," I concluded, giving up much too early for Melinda's taste.

"You go near my room to get them without my permission and they'll all be broken!" she added fiercely, trying to savor another in a long string of successes against these dumb chumps, but feeling just a bit cheated by the lack of fireworks.

A day later four of the glass covers were back in place, two still missing. Melinda reported with resigned mockery that she had had to do the incompetent staff's job for it once again, but that the 'criminal' had already maliciously broken two covers before she could break away from her other activities to go attend to the case. She thought I ought to come look at the broken glass in the sewer and then get to work apprehending the criminal as quickly as possible. As for her, she expected an appropriate reward for her work. . . and so on.

True to form, Melinda always denied that the program had any value whatsoever for anybody. She became especially furious if she ever heard staff members discussing her (we made no effort to prevent students from hearing us talk about them) and would demand who had given us permission to discuss her. She once heard one of us telling the story about her and Luther to a visitor and made it a point for the following week or so to search out each visitor and assure him that the program was worthless, that the staff told nothing but lies, and that, in particular, there wasn't a shred of truth in any story about her. Of course, her denials only increased the credibility of the story and the number of times it was told. Ever after that first day, Melinda was utterly, if subtly, changed from a brooding, threatening, intransigent, unapproachable outsider to a satisfied, demanding, impossible, lovable insider.

This change and her obvious pleasure in the attention she received not only illustrates the 'Psycho-social' theory that these students craved attention once they discovered that it really was freely given, but also can serve to introduce a final theory bandied about by the staff to explain those early nights. (Amazing how much theorizing a little excitement generates in even the most 'practical' of persons who would deny all interest in abstractions if asked.)

HOW INSTITUTIONAL LOSERS ADAPT

We can call this theory the 'Institutional' theory to distinguish it from the others. According to this theory, our students had long been treated as outsiders and failures by American institutions, preeminently by the public schools. The schools transmitted middle class values of order, individualistic competition in private, conformity in public, and intellectual achievement isolated from commitments to communal action--values foreign and irrelevant to our students, but nevertheless imposed upon them insofar as possible. The schools could generally avoid questions such as whether their aims were valid and why they weren't achieving their aims by using these students' failures as a contrast to Honors students' successes. Winning has no meaning except by contrast to losing. Oligopolistic capitalism, whether material or intellectual, requires losers to motivate the winners. Or, to use sociological language, deviance is necessary to help define conformity.

How do the losers, the deviants, handle their relationship to the institutions whose interest it is, no matter what the rhetoric, to keep them in the losing role? We were seeing the answer to this question acted out among us those first two nights, according to some staff members. The losers come to define themselves as outside and opposed to institutions, perhaps trying to con them, perhaps withdrawing apathetically, perhaps defiantly challenging them. Their habitual way of relating to some new organization would logically be the reverse of 'winners'. Whereas the winners (and other players still competing for the prizes) try to psych out the leader's expectations, the formal institutional reward and penalty systems, and the informal rules of the game in order to meet them, deviants psych out these same features in order to contradict them. Only when a deviant has successfully contradicted the institution, can he begin to feel in a stable, trustworthy relationship to it.

According to this theory, our students were prosaically, and after a while more desperately, seeking out the institutional and interpersonal limits of the Upward Bound staff, in order to exceed them.

In several cases, they did manage to establish staff members' limits rather easily. One male tutor named Kevin turned out to be an earnest, but overintrusive and officious intellectualizer, with a moralistic and paternalistic tendency to define staff members' and students' obligations to them in crisis situations. This 'let-us-reason-together-children' approach infuriated staff and students alike, and students soon found they could wound his pride and undermine his effectiveness in a variety of ways: refusing to respond, denying his authority outright, insisting that he bully them, or reporting his gaffs to sympathetic staff ears. Susan, a female tutor, quickly revealed that resistance soon pushed her past the point of good intentions to irritated, illogical anger and subsequent tears and despair. The girls, especially, thereafter enjoyed terrorizing her whenever she opposed their wishes. In general, students mercilessly exploited staff members' weaknesses when bored or bothered.

Other staff members, of course, exhibited a far greater capacity to act creatively, fashioning durable relationships and common goals from initial distance and mutual strangeness. Luther, really unhirable on the basis of formal qualifications, repeatedly demonstrated tenacity and intuitive genius in relating to the students. Ray Flowers, a black tutor who had remained disappointingly silent throughout the spring meetings, belying my initial sense of his promise, immediately flowered, in keeping with his name, when the session opened. Spontaneous organization seemed to sprout around him, the first evidence being the manifestation of the International Volleyball Championships which engaged everyone's attention between supper and dark the evening of our first full day and every evening thereafter the first week.

These staff members seemed to gain their personal authority by a combination of genuineness (expressing their actual feelings and acting as they said they would), willingness to listen, an ability to be firm without being defensive or attacking, a kind of intuitive knowledge about when to act and when to wait, an ability to combine specifics and abstractions relating their behavior to goals of the community, and an ability to be friendly with students without denying the distinctions in age, role, and attitudes between themselves and students. At least those are the qualities I could see which seemed to help them negotiate the daily dilemmas which for others became untenable contradictions again and again--contradictions between being a friend and being a staff member or between permitting individual freedom and creating communal order.

The strengths and weaknesses of the staff members were emphasized by the virtual lack of institutional rules at the outset of the summer. There being no impersonal limits to test, our students were forced to concentrate their attention on persons. Here the special genius of our non-organization for our particular students asserted itself. Although at first it appeared that we would reap nothing but chaos, we soon experienced an emergent order, in which the students were participants and, in fact, in large part the determining forces. Had we attempted to impose order, we might have succeeded with a few students, and in time turned a few of those few into winners, but the rest would have immediately exceeded the imposed limits, reinforcing rather than in any way growing beyond their habitual role. As it was, one can imagine many students experiencing considerable indeterminate frustration as they strove to break nonexistent rules those first days. Their exhaustion was less hypothetical.

CLASSES--THE NON-DEVIANTS, THE PARTICIPANTS, AND THE OBSTRUCTORS

Despite everyone's lack of sleep the first two nights, attendance at classes the first days was virtually universal. Only the older high school teachers correctly diagnosed this sign of participativeness as part of the students' tour of the facilities to determine what they were about to reject and to study how to go about rejecting it. As the summer wore on, two-thirds attendance by the students came to be considered a 'good' day.

Of course, not every single one of our students fit the 'deviant' syndrome as drawn. A few were pure pleasure to work with from beginning to end. There was Penny Reeves, a diminutive white girl who managed to be cooperative, hard-working, attractive, and unafraid of her surroundings.

The one-third minority of whites often felt isolated and attacked in the increasingly black-defined culture of the program. Speakers and curriculum often focused on black issues, never specifically on white issues. Music in the common room became almost entirely soul rather than acid. "We must be feeling just the way you feel most of the time," Penny could offer with sympathy during a class discussion, rather than simply retreating into self-pity.

Carlo Tithers, [redacted] was another non-deviant. Older than the other students by two years and from Bridgeport rather than New Haven, he had taken a great deal of initiative to find and apply for the program. Exactly what had soured him on the street life and lent him determination to try to learn, I could never exactly make out. His words garbled by nervousness and his academic record garbled by lack of skills (but considerably higher than our students' norm of three-fifths F's), he nevertheless showed an immediate and rare appreciation of abstract relations in social behavior. When he entered the program, I was confident that he understood the theoretical relationships among its purpose, form, and intended results with absolute clarity, unlike most of the staff. He therefore also understood the risks involved and the inevitability of failures. And he understood that the whole environment, not just classes, could be an arena for his learning. He even recognized that his understandings and aims made him susceptible to being dismissed by other students as straight, particularly if his efforts to help realize the aims of the program occurred in the form or argument or public initiatives. Consequently, he never held any elected office during the summer; neither did he take strong stands in debates about our community, nor did he dominate class discussions. Instead, he became Melinda's closest boy friend during the first week and could be seen promenading about the camp with her in serious conversation. And later he took a similar role in relation to the chairman of the Discipline Committee, whose job was the most demanding and delicate at the school.

But, whatever their intentions may have been, a number of students besides Penny and Carlo were hooked by the classes the first two days. We teamed an 'administrator' with one teacher and a dozen students for two hours each morning to deal with the week's theme through poetry, students' writing about experiences at the camp, drawing, records, and discussions of the previous night's movie or one that might be shown at the beginning of the morning. Another topic of discussion during the first week was the structure of the school for the succeeding six weeks. During the first days especially, tutors also joined these classes, enlivening the discussions and making possible several supervised activities at once. After the class, we would hold a general meeting to consolidate the work of the various classes towards our rules and enforcements and daily schedule. Then for the final hour of the morning we rounded up every staff member and volunteer we could find and asked them to tutor three students each in reading and writing or any other subject in which the student needed tutoring. We hoped that the resulting privacy and personal relationships would help break through students' resistance to acknowledging their skill deficiencies and working to overcome them.

Beginning and then sustaining a conversation with a class composed almost entirely of veteran non-participants and obstructors is not the simplest task on earth. With a Melinda refusing loudly to cooperate, being offered the option of leaving, then blasting back into the room every fifteen minutes to point her finger at everybody and laugh, continuity and any sort of dramatic development tended to dissolve. Moreover, none of the students had ever participated in so small a class or in one which was intended purely as a conversation (as contrasted to one in which the teacher encourages discussion at his discretion and then wonders why students don't participate). Students reacted suspiciously, cutting down one another's efforts to say anything serious, interrupting staff members to test their reactions, or trying out their endless vocabulary of swear words for effect.

At the same time, most of the instructors had already decided to shed the 'deprived background' that many public school teachers bring with them into a classroom. They had overcome the assumption that 'imposed order permits coordinated effort which results in learning' for the more generally valid axiom that 'mutual learning creates community which in turn generates order.' This change afforded them the luxury of concentrating on learning in the classroom. Secondly, they had a wealth of materials at their disposal to use as they and the students wished to explore an existential theme significant to us all at this time, 'new beginnings.' Instead of having to choose between stopping, or permitting the class to be distracted by 'extra-curricular' discussions, the teacher could apply his pedagogical skill to such discussions to discover and investigate differences of attitude towards our new beginning.

Third, the fact that we were negotiating our political relations to one another opened up all student reactions in class to question. How should obstructions like Melinda's be dealt with, her teacher wondered with the rest of the class during one of her absences. Should the teacher have the power to send her out of class? Should the director have the power to suspend her from school? Should there be a committee of her peers to whom such bothersome behavior could be referred for action? Should the persons whom she bothered simply deal with her directly? Melinda stomped back out of class when asked what she thought at her next apparition. But soon she was back to deliver herself of the opinion that anyone who misbehaved should be thrown out of school. At a subsequent reapparition she was surprised to have a quiet member of the class address her directly to the effect that throwing her out of school would be much too easy for her and would represent a failure on the part of the school because it would not have helped her learn anything new.

In one class Simon and Garfunkel's "I am a rock" led to a conversation about how hard it was for teenagers to speak seriously and personally to one another. In another, the analysis of e.e. cummings' "Pity this poor monster manunkind not" burst from hesitant stutters and derogatory exclamations at "those crazy words, that ain't how you make words, don't he know how to write," into a fullblown metaphysical argument about the relation of science to nature. In a third, some Richard Wright haikus inspired astonishing poetic efforts by the students themselves. As each student copied his poem on the board for all to share after a five minute composition period, Seth Phillips, whose toothache was yet to become public knowledge, delivered himself of the following sentiment:

> I'm very big outside,
> But very small inside.
> I'm getting smaller.

Micky Robertson, the only white guy who could deal with the blacks on equal terms and without fear, had written:

> A room
> A thousand doors
> None opens.

TUTORING-READING, WRITING, AND RELATIONSHIPS

When we broke for tutoring after the general meeting that first morning, I found myself paired with three white students, Cynthia, Nel, and Frank. Frank and I already had the makings of a relationship. On the way to camp the evening before he had been as voluble as his backseat partner, Max, had been silent. We had agreed to spend part of each afternoon trading my small skill in judo in return for his more developed skill in karate (an agreement which Frank's badly sprained thumb abrogated within five minutes of the beginning of our first session).

Frank had already browsed through our library of paperbacks and was carrying Black Like Me when our quartet met for tutoring. Faced with the problem of how to tutor three persons individually at the same time, I suggested that he spend the hour reading. We quickly devised three distinct marks he could put in the margin to mark and distinguish among words or sentences he didn't understand, ideas or descriptions which he found new and interesting, and passages he disagreed with or found boring. We agreed to discuss what he had read at the beginning of the next period.

In the meantime, I turned to Cynthia and Nel, suggesting that we walk and talk, asking one another whatever questions we wished in order to become acquainted and find some work we would like to do together. I was beginning to feel tired and unimaginative. Somehow neither girl excited me. A few monosyllables distinguished Cynthia from Nel by name, but they seemed alike in appearance -- pinched, pale, droopy--and in attitude--reticent, withdrawn, lusterless. Both were sour and suspicious about the program and the camp so far. They could foresee nothing for themselves during the upcoming week but discomfort, boredom, and probable hostility from the blacks.

Their apathy was contagious. I found it hard to come up with questions, or to want to come up with questions. I began to believe that their unwillingness to venture beyond their shells was probably unbreachable and that their predictions about the week would turn into self-fulfilling prophecies. Toward the end of the hour I asked them each to write a page about their experiences the first two days in camp before tomorrow afternoon. We agreed to meet in the afternoon so that I could work with Frank during the morning hour. I had no idea where we might go that second afternoon. As far as I could see, our converstaion had trickled to a stop. And I had no hopes that their writing would be anything but a few flat, opaque sentences.

As it turned out that second afternoon, I was right about the writing, but wrong about the conversation. Evidently Cynthis and Nel had discussed me at great length in the intervening day, our first conversation having been as monumental an event as ever impinged upon their lives. Cynthia had reached the point of suspending her generalized distrust enough to risk asking me some questions about myself. Whereas the day before the girls had contented themselves with asking me a few formal questions in an uninterested tone and without pursuing them beyond my initial reply, Cynthia now returned to my first answers and pressed further. What was it like to go to school in a foreign country? Did I like it? Did I make friends? How did it feel to leave one place and go to another? And as I told stories about my childhood, pausing to ask them whether they'd had similar experiences, but not pressing when their answers remained flat, Cynthia's questions became increasingly personal. What were my mother and father like? Did I ever fight with them? Why wasn't I married?

Our second hour flew by far more pleasantly than the first, but I still had no idea what kind of work we could do together. Their writing had turned out to be surprisingly competent technically, but so mechanical and unrevealing that I could find no clues for further writing assignments. This time I asked them each to choose a book that interested her from the paperback library and begin to read it, noting in the margin whatever questions it made her think of.

The third afternoon we began by looking at the books together, at my request. Both claimed they liked their chosen book, but neither could say why. Nor had either written any questions in the margin. They didn't know what kind of questions I wanted, they told me, nor what passages merited questioning. That kind of passive response by students always angers me, no matter how often I hear it, and even though I know that they have been trained by years of school to respond in that way. This time, however, my anger was somewhat dissipated by an air of positive expectation on the part of the girls, a sense that the discussion of reading was a mere preliminary to the real work of the afternoon.

As my slightly prolonged silence indicated I was willing to let the subject of reading drop, Cynthia moved into the vacuum as she had the previous afternoon with more questions. This time, however, the questions were about herself. What use was school, she wondered, especially since she planned to become a hairdresser? Why were she and Nel such good friends, yet neither felt friendly towards other people? How could the black girls stand having the guys touch them so much even when they weren't their boyfriends?

Nel showed no indication that she was about to raise similar questions about herself, but she did 'confess', with the first glint I had seen in her eye and a flush, that Cynthia was her best friend and that she didn't see any reason to take a chance on making other friends as long as she already had one.

I felt we'd struck pay dirt. As the girls chatted animatedly, with an occasional question from me, I formulated a writing assignment for them. Each was to describe the other as fully as possible and give her opinions about what the other ought to change about herself, what was keeping her from changing, and how she could go about changing. Neither was to share with the other what she had written until the three of us met again the following day. (This provision was intended to free them from one another's probably-inhibiting surveillance and to heighten the dramatic tension.)

They accepted the assignment with many a question about what I meant by each part, how long it should be, etc. I could see they were enthusiastic enough about the project to define these things for themselves, so I walked off laughing despite their protestations.

I must say that I found a curiously tangential aspect of our meeting the fourth morning the most touching and symbolic. I was delighted by their writing--I'm sure they both exceeded by far their longest previous paper, each generating more than four pages, and their descriptions and disagreements fueled conversations and papers for another week; but my memory of our conversation is a little vague because I was mainly dazzled by how pretty both girls had, apparently independently, made themselves. I can't really describe what made them look so pretty. To say that they were wearing dresses and seemed to have done their hair doesn't really capture the essence of the matter. It was more a matter of wilted balloons being blown up than of Christmas trees being decorated, it seemed to me. Or maybe the entire phenomenon occurred in the eyes of the beholder.

RESULTS AND IRONIES

The excitement about writing was somewhat more permanent than the prettiness. Although Nel soon reverted to her sour look, she continued writing, becoming interested in conversational dialogue and using a tape recorder to get a clearer sense of its rhythm. Cynthia ventured onwards, writing for our weekly newspaper and testing some new friendships. It was clear to me that Cynthia was going to qualify as one of our great successes of the summer.

Then after returning home for the third weekend, Cynthia didn't show up at the college Sunday evening at the beginning of the fourth week. Nel reported Cynthia was not coming back. I found her at home later that week. She said that all the changing she was doing seemed likely to her to make more school and some other career besides hairdressing reasonable. She felt she had too much of herself invested in being a hairdresser to change that, so she was quitting Upward Bound before she really began to want to do something besides hairdressing. The emotional illogic of her argument (if she ever got to the point of preferring some other career, wouldn't that in itself indicate that she was no longer invested in hairdressing?) was impenetrable. I could not influence her in the slightest.

At first I thought there must be some other reason, connected with her family, that she was unwilling to talk about. But none ever emerged through Nel or other students who knew her. Nor was I able to discover any evidence of some traumatic experience occurring to her within the program. Had she simply become scared by the speed with which she was changing? I don't claim to know. I'm still surprised that it was she who quit and not Nel. And even more surprised that Nel didn't quit after Cynthia did. I could have sworn that Cynthia's presence and example was the only factor that held Nel at the program from day to day.

Meanwhile, my third tutee, Frank, had launched himself into the program in a painful frenzy. Neither in reading nor in writing did he need cajoling. He waded through four books during the first week, all about aspects of black experience in America. He took to writing essays and asserting his opinions on a range of topics, focusing around social problems of race and poverty. His pain was first visible only by inference in his rigid posture, dilated eyes, and tense, abrupt gestures. Next I began to wonder why he was reading so many books about blacks when his essays and conversation were a steady stream of vituperative condemnation against them. Then he began to ask me strange, indirect questions: did I think black women could in any sense be considered beautiful? If my father had believed something very strongly before he died, would I consider myself a traitor to his memory if I acted counter to that belief? Finally, I began to suspect the pattern in his activity when I observed him during the day wandering about apparently alone yet constantly watching Carmen, one of our spectacular black girls. He had obviously become infatuated with her, despite his father's teachings. His own sense of order was built directly from his father's but had yet to solidify, so he was living in a brittle state of ambivalence and fear, tortured and tempted by his attraction to Carmen.

Black women are immoral, he would inveigh to me; blacks have no sense of order or discipline; of course I have nothing against them, but I will not room with one at the college; that's asking too much, an invasion of privacy; when my mother hears this is a program for blacks, she probably won't let me continue anyway. In the meantime, he would wander in the vicinity of Carmen, only once, as far as I saw, approaching as close as a ping-pong game with her.

After the first week at camp, Frank's productivity fell off. He began to complain of headaches that made it impossible for him to read for more than a few minutes at a time. He complained bitterly and constantly when, being the only white in his tutor group, he was roomed with a quiet black fellow at the college. He let it be known that his karate blows were lethal and that he would not hesitate to use his skill in self-defense. He practiced loudly in the living room of the three-room suite. And, of course, the black students quickly diagnosed his over-earnest tension and consequent susceptibility to mock adulation and indirect inuendo. They took to teasing him until, nearly losing his control, he would rush to a staff member and complain that he was being threatened. In fact, as the black students would then innocently claim, it was usually Frank who issued the direct threats and made the overt derogatory comments about race.

OTHER IRONIES, OTHER RESULTS

Once again, Luther turned out to be the key staff member in the act. Somehow able to summon up more sympathy for Frank's dilemmas than others of us, he initially engaged in long, off-stage conversations with him. These conversations eventuated in the suggestion that Frank and Luther room together. So, by the end of the second week, Frank was in the curious position of rooming with a black to avoid rooming with blacks, finding sympathy only from a black staff member for his complaints about lack of sympathy on the part of blacks.

Did this irony, and all of Luther's effort to perpetuate it, have a healing effect on Frank? To hear Frank speak of his respect for Luther as the first black person whom he had really come to know, one would say yes. To hear him speak of how the blacks ruined the program and made it worthless, without acknowledging either his own destructive behavior or his learning, one would say no. To compare his record at school the year before the program to his record the year after, when his marks rose an average of two full letter grades, one would infer yes. To hear him defend and insist desperately on agreeing with his mother that he should not return to the program a second summer because of the blacks and because she needed more money, because his performance at school proved he didn't need help, and because it was time he quit school altogether and earn a living, one would infer no. What is the total healing score? +1 -1 +1 -1 = 0, calculating one way; two-fourths, calculating another; perhaps still open to future influences, calculating a third way.

VI. A NEW BEGINNING (II)

The afternoons at the camp were hot and slow. The lake shore became the main gathering spot, although an occasional couple could be seen playing ping-pong or reading in the hall of the main lodge, throwing a football on the playing field, poking the captured snake with a stick, or engaged in tutoring under a tree.

The early evenings after supper became more definitely and more electrically defined than the afternoons by Ray Flowers' announcement of the International Volleyball Championships, to begin as soon as teams signed up Monday night. Thereupon, Rick Bayless, the Vista Volunteer who'd turned up at camp with us, arose to explain in a tone of calculatedly infuriating braggadocio that his team was prepared to defend its championship against all comers. Upon being deluged by demands to name his team, he appeared to consider whether such a revelation would be strategic, then inadvertantly leaked the information that it had yet to be formed.

Twenty minutes later Rick was loudly captaining and coaching his new team, himself by far the least competent player on it, to victory over an at least equally competent but completely psyched-out opposing sextet, the 'stands' alternately yelling for Rick's head and rolling on the ground, helpless with laughter at his most recent error. Most of his errors were recouped by the play of his moody star, tall John Darius, who batted the ball as hard as he threw a football quarterbacking his high school team.

But John, as the kids put it, "got an attitude" each time he made a mistake or thought his team was being cheated. Then the hidden function of Rick's humorous over-coaching would assert itself, for he could put his arm around John's shoulder (quite a reach) and parade him back and forth across the court, joshing him out of his momentary determination never to touch a volleyball again.

The imminent victory of Rick's team led to a murmur among the watchers, "Wait till Henry organize hisself a team." And with the victory of Rick's team, another challenge was issued by a team that boasted Henry Aston, the best basketball player at the camp, on its roster. Henry was as quiet and unobtrusive as John was flashy. He had not organized the team, nor did he captain or coach it. He merely played hard and well, especially courageous in leaping up in front of smashes by the opposing team to have them caromn off his hands, arms, or face and land in the opponents territory before they realized that they had not won the point. But this was not enough. His team lost.

Each succeeding team to challenge Rick's included Henry Aston on it, and each team lost. Rick's team, of course, was becoming increasingly cohesive and increasingly skilled as they continued to play together. Moreover, John's "attitudes" became more and more infrequent.

At the same time, two other processes began to work on the situation. Rick's team was becoming more and more over-confident. And Henry Aston was becoming more and more interested in the organization of the opposing team.

Rick's team reigned as champion all Monday and Tuesday evenings, but the first real challenge occurred Wednesday evening at supper when Henry quietly announced the formation of an All-Star team to meet the current champions in a two-out-of-three match. The All-Star quality of the team resided in its inclusion of girls and staff members as well as boys. Despite the presence of Rick himself and little Grace Hudson on his team, it had been assumed the first two evenings that the six strongest individual players among the boys would form the strongest combination to beat Rick's team. Only gradually did the analysts perceive the positive influence of Rick's antics, of Grace's determination, and of the other players' efforts to compensate for Grace's lack of height.

It also took a while for the pattern of the games to suggest the two-out-of-three gambit. For Rick's team would predictably build up a big lead over its opponents while they struggled to integrate their strengths and compensate for one another's weaknesses. Then the two teams would play evenly for a few points until the opponent would yield to demoralization as Rick's team neared 21.

The first game yielded the predicted result, except that Henry's team pulled to within four points of Rick's before yielding to defeat. Throughout the game Rick's team maintained the calm self-assurance and taunting over-confidence that had so devastated its earlier opponents. The beginning of the second game served notice, however, that some new ploy was needed. For Henry's team reversed the usual sequence, piling up a large lead. Rick called a time-out and tried to rally his team, but it had become unaccustomed to playing under this kind of pressure and was unable to head off the opponents. One to one, and the fans could sense that Henry had built the team of the future.

But the most surprising feature of the third game became John's attitude, or rather his lack of an "attitude". Instead, with Rick temporarily unsure how to weld the team together, John took over. Both teams on even ground now, they fought point for point, Henry's team still the sentimental favorite, but the watchers wondering what would happen to John if his team lost after all he was putting into it. "John ain't never lost nothin' without he develop a attitude. The way he holdin' back now, he lose, you see a super-attitude."

John's team, as it was forever after known without anyone noticing the change, lost. And there was John, to everyone's amazement, reassuring his teammates that they'd played hard and congratulating Henry on his team.

I have described these volleyball games in such detail because they first contrasted so strongly, then dovetailed so magnificently, with the development of a formal structure for the school. INSERT (see next p

~~If the students were unfamiliar with [illegible] a dozen persons in a [illegible] they were absolutely familiar with occasions involving a whole school, such as our general meetings each morning.~~ Weren't these like assemblies at school, where somebody on the stage talks at you while you talk and play among yourselves, occasionally hoot at the stage, and try to incite the teachers to throw somebody else out? So, the first and second mornings, while I was trying to ask them what areas of school life needed organization and who should do it, pandemonium ruled in the hall of the main lodge. Even if I managed to get a student's attention

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Whereas the volleyball games created a well-defined competitive situation, demanding familiar physical skills, our general meetings to determine the school's structure were necessarily ill-defined at the outset, hopefully cooperative, and demanding of unfamiliar social skills.

The students initially adapted to the general meetings by treating them like school assemblies--the only non-athletic occasions involving a whole school with which they were familiar.

by taking his intended aside seriously or even when some student made a directly serious contribution, no one else was listening. Or if one side of the room momentarily quieted sufficiently to listen to one of its midst speak, they were soon diverted into screaming imprecations at those not listening.

SELF-DETERMINATION OR ANARCHY

Our experiment in self-determination threatened once again, as it did so many times those first days, to collapse. In retrospect, it is easy to see that it had not yet begun. But at the time I felt as though I was misrepresenting matters when, at the end of the first day's meeting, I announced the five areas of school life that "we" had decided required structuring. The "we" amounted to several suggestions shouted from the floor, as well as a couple of things I'd had in mind, which made sense to me. Most persons present hadn't heard them mentioned, forgot them as soon as they heard me summarize them, and probably didn't know why we were there in the first place.

The second day provided a slightly different experience. I had assigned one area to each of the five class sections to create a plan for the school by Wednesday. Since the teachers raised these issues with their sections Tuesday morning, most students became aware that something was happening and that something had happened at Monday's general meeting.

Of course, they didn't really believe they were to have power over such intimate features of their lives as when and how long classes should occur, when they might wander off campus and about town, and whether there should be any lights-out policy. So Tuesday's general meeting maintained the same level of pandemonium as Monday's but this time focused accusatorily at me (this is progress?). If they could do what they wanted, why did they have to have any classes at all? Could boys and girls room together? How about placing only students on the discipline committee? Who made the decision that Jim Walsh's section would deal with rules about visitors? Why didn't I agree right away with the suggestions that were being made?

I felt exhausted and persecuted after the meeting, especially when several staff members who had all along doubted the possibility or efficacy of self-structuring adopted an I-told-you-so attitude towards me. I was disheartened by the unreasonableness of the students who seemed totally to overlook the need to reach common agreements rather than just establish individual preferences. Not until Greg sat down with me could I begin to see the emotional, developmental logic of moving from powerlessness, to self-assertion, and only then--only once one has a sense of personal efficacy--to common organization. So they were practicing self-assertion on me? That was Morris' optimistic theory. Optimistic?...

The third morning the attack shifted from me to the student representatives from each section who rose to deliver the preliminary plans devised by their section. It may have been because each representative had a dozen backers to help quiet the others or because each section wanted its plan listened to that I thought I could detect a slight hiatus here and there in the commotion. But nevertheless the representatives were annoyed and defensive about their reception. If they tried to argue points with their questioners and detractors, the latter would turn away or the argument would be overwhelmed by the hubbub. I tried to help the speakers by occasional shouts for order, encouraging them to go on, or noting the occasional point that seemed to receive general assent or general dissent. Afterwards we ran off a two-page summary of the different proposals for the sections to study the following morning. Each section was also to review its own proposal in view of the comments at the general meeting and check for any inconsistencies with the other proposals. We were to make final decisons the next morning.

Something made the fourth meeting more meeting-like. Perhaps the tangibility of proposals on paper and votes being taken made the difference. Perhaps emotional development had been occurring amidst the apparent disorganization of the previous mornings. Perhaps the sections surprised one another into attention by modifying their proposals to take others' opinions into account. In less than an hour a series of consensual or majority decisions were reached about morning and afternoon schedules, visiting hours, rules and enforcement. All of the decisions seemed to take into account the foremost needs of students, staff and parents. The decision about enforcement was perhaps the most memorable because it constituted what was to become the most significant and controversial corporate body during the summer--the Discipline Committee. The committee was to consist of fifteen members, ten students--two from each section--and five staff--two tutors, two teachers, and an administrator. Elections were to occur Friday morning.

HE STARTED IT WHEN HE HIT ME BACK

Thursday afternoon I drove into New Haven and back, picking up some equipment and pay checks for the staff. It was the first afternoon I could imagine leaving the camp and returning without chaos intervening. (Why do so many of us equate leadership with indispensibility?)

The drive provided me with my first moments of quiet reflection during the week, and I felt pleased. I could never have imagined working so hard, or having so much happen around me, or feeling so much at sea, nor could I have imagined our new beginning so definitely new, or so many relationships forming, or the students so colorful and stimulating. It seemed clear that we were going to make it through the week, that we really were going to do something together, and that persons were already beginning to change dramatically and positively.

From this 'high', the sinking sensation in my stomach was especially pronounced when I parked outside the dining hall on my return. At a time of afternoon when everyone was customarily dispersed in the vicinity of the shore, all the students were congregated around the dining hall, muttering among themselves ominously, not a staff member in sight.

I found the entire staff assembled in the dining hall, talking angrily around a weeping Regina, one of the tutors. Greg briefed me in a whisper while my other ear and my eyes took in tones and signs of tension, wounded pride, and polarized conflict. There had been a fight at the shore, Greg told me, between several students and two tutors, Regina and Tom. Other staff members and students had rushed up to part the conbatants, but not before ugly words and hard blows had embittered them. Now Regina and Tom and some other staff members were demanding that the six students be expelled from the school because their kind of violence would otherwise destroy the school and the dignity and authority of all staff members.

Other staff members were arguing vehemently that unilateral expulsion of students by the staff would destroy the school and our credibility, since we as yet had no rules to govern such a situation and were thus governed only by the principle of collaboration with the students. To break this principle was to become untrustworthy and inauthentic.

Time was critical. The longer the conflict continued between these two philosophical factions on the staff the more divided they would become, and the more divided the staff as a whole would become from the anxious and angry students outside. At the same time, I felt totally uninformed about what had actually happened. Who had 'started' the fight? What had the dispute been about? Why had other measures failed? It appeared the rest of the staff knew the answers to these questions, for they were no longer mentioning such concrete matters.

I did not know what to do. It was clear some kind of leadership was desperately needed, and the way people turned toward me when I entered indicated that they expected the leadership from me. Yet in terms of knowledge about what to do, I was the poorest present. And, to find out would take time we didn't have.

I forestalled decison for one minute by moving around to three staff members who I knew had rapport with the students and asking them to go outside. I didn't tell them what to do. The situation was too far ahead of any of us to merit instructions.

For a moment the argument around me bordered on the concrete. Each side charged the other with responsibility for the fight. No deatils mentioned or arbitrated, they burst on to other abstract accusations. But I realized that the concrete facts of the case had yet to be agreed upon by the arguers. I was not the only one who did not know what had happened!

That gave me the courage to do what I had thought there was no time for a moment earlier--ask what had happened. Or rather, I jumped in strongly and insisted that each 'side' tell what events and interpretations made the other side responsible for the fight.

A clear portrait emerged. Several fellows were teasing one of the girls, pretending they were going to throw her into the water. As was often true among our black students, the play was noisy and touchy. Boys put their arms around the girl and she screamed.

Many of the staff had great difficulty distinguishing when amusement turned to anger, mutuality to coercion, and control to chaos in such situations because we associated all touching-cum-screaming with anger, coercion, and chaos. Regina decided that anger, coercion, and chaos was occurring, so she moved quickly into the group to rescue the girl and put a stop to the harrassment.

In so doing, she shoved Jimmy, the smallest but fieriest of the boys. He struck at her. Seeing this, Tom, who was Regina's boy friend as well as fellow tutor, dove into the fray, tackling Jimmy. With this, the other guys in the group fell onto Tom.

Regina and Tom now saw the students as responsible for the initial 'anger, coercion, and chaos', for hitting Regina when she came to rescue the girl, and for fighting Tom when he tried to rescue Regina.

Others saw Regina as guilty of misjudging a perfectly ordinary situation--she being middle-class black (as was Tom) and thus as asensual as us whites--and of then unpardonably assaulting a student physically (aggressive touching becoming a very different act when the aggressor is associated with authority). Tom was also seen as overreacting subjectively, losing his temper because Regina was his girlfriend.

Reports from outside indicated the students involved in the fight as well as those on the periphery all felt that the teasing had remained good-natured. But these reports had to be taken with a grain of salt, since it was clearly in the students' interests that that be the interpretation.

THE TREE THAT DIDN'T FALL

In short, there was no objective observer of the situation which caused the conflict. Therefore, neither side could be proven 'wrong'. More than that, like Berkeley's tree in the forest, not falling if unheard and unseen, neither side was right or wrong. No common culture or code yet existed among us within which there were rights or wrongs. But this condition was itself so unfamiliar that it had remained unperceived. Persons when deeply threatened assumed they knew what they were talking about.

Once we'd reviewed the facts most staff members saw that the primary issue was still to create community among us, rather than to brand one side or the other as responsible for disrupting an imaginary community. The whole incident in fact spotlighted a form of behavior that seemed to be anathema to all: physical violence by any member of the community. If we could agree that for us violence would be a wrong, our sense of community could be enhanced. The incident also spotlighted the danger of acting on one's own assumptions about what was happening in a cross-cultural situation rather than questioning the participants.

Regina, Tom, and the students were still much too angry and wounded to want to learn any lessons from the experience. Nevertheless, I felt it critical that whatever happened next occur in the presence of the whole community. Otherwise the continued division between staff and students would poison relations more than any conversation within either group might heal them.

At this point, decisions were made quickly. We asked the students to join us in the dining hall. While that was happening, questions arose about who should speak, what line should be taken, what result we would seek. I can't recall exactly how the decisions were reached in that brief minute, but the outcome was a perfect balance. I spoke first as leader of the whole community to make clear what would be done--what was going to 'come down.' I said simply that the incident was obviously disastrous, that our whole endeavor would quickly disintegrate if we had further such incidents, that nobody was to blame in this case any more than anybody else, that from this moment there would be a rule of no physical violence between any members of the community, to be enforced by expulsion for offenders whether they be staff or students, and that we would continue to meet together now until we resolved the conflict.

The students relaxed immediately and disbelievingly. A murmur ran around the room. They had expected the staff finally to unveil its power, now that there was a crisis, and prove that all the collaborative talk was bullshit. They had expected to have a fight and be beaten. They were disarmed.

But, being well-versed in the politics of chaos, they quickly imagined the next problem: "Tom and Regina never goin to live in the same house as Jimmy an them. They be out for each other every night." So the students nearest me forecasted.

Now Rick spoke to the community. It had been agreed that he was the member of the community with maximum credibility to all, knowing the students more intimately than the staff and not being a staff member himself. He also spoke in the student's idiom which I could not yet even fully understand. He repeated and filled out what I had said, reminding the students of what they'd hoped for and still needed out of the program, using examples from the street to illustrate how damaging vendettas arising from false pride could be, citing my action as final proof that this program was different, and so forth. He gave a long rap, picking everyone up with his urgency and reinspiring them, just when the darkening evening and the prospect of having to start from scratch to prepare a delayed dinner threatened to intensify the gloom.

When he felt he had reopened the possibility of hope, Dick pressed to the conclusion that on the spur of the moment seemed to him the most feasible. He insisted that for the sake of the whole program all the participants in the fight join him outside in order to work through their bitterness to a reconciliation. 'Let's go!' he ended, turning to the door.

Into a moment of tense stillness, I called on everyone else to help prepare tonight's dinner, trying to stir up as much common activity as possible. I could see the participants in the fight using the commotion to cover their exit, while eagerness to quell hunger pangs knit the rest of the group into a more smoothly functioning unit than I had yet seen.

In retrospect, Rick's last action seemed a stroke of genius. The community had not yet developed to the point where it could have helped the intensive confrontation required among the participants. And, in front of the rest of us, the participants would probably have sought refuge in their wounded pride. Yet the matter needed immediate resolution. None of the combatants would likely have taken the first step towards a peaceful settlement. But by their willingness to step out the door and face one another they all implicitly took that first step together.

All I know about that little meeting is that Rick began by insisting that whatever was said belonged only within that group at that time and he never wanted to hear any stories about what went on from others.

Just as everyone sat down to a cold supper supplemented by hot dogs, the little group re-entered the dining hall, and Rick announced shortly that everyone had shaken hands. The dignity of the event spoke for itself. Everyone, students and staff, was amazed.

After dinner it was too dark to play volleyball, so some of the girls popped the popcorn while an unusually large crew washed dishes and then we watched our nightly movie (the lighting at camp was much too poor to contemplate anything like nighttime studying). Everything was back to "normal."

THE BUS DRIVER'S CONTRIBUTION

Or so it appeared.

The next morning sections elected representatives to the Discipline Committee. During the general session the committee held its first meeting before the rest of the school, the five staff members joining the students in electing a chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary. John Darius became chairman, as though in official recognition of his transformation on the volleyball court that week. Earl Smith, quiet and dependable, was elected vice-chairman. Carmen was chosen as secretary.

Then our sense of solidarity as a unit received an unexpected boost from our bus driver. We were ending our first week with a trip to the Newport Jazz Festival, leaving in the early afternoon and returning to New Haven after midnight for weekends at home. We had chartered one bus, expecting to squeeze the rest of the students in with staff members driving their own cars.

Exhausted by the whole week and drained by the conflict on Thursday, a number of staff members said they would prefer to return directly to New Haven to sleep Friday afternoon. Still shaken by the fight, other staff members felt that the chances of maintaining any semblance of order on a long trip to a public place appeared minimal. They argued that we cancel the event altogether and return straight to New Haven.

At the last minute, I found myself plagued with how to find enough drivers and whether to go at all. Exhausted myself, I felt unable to make the decision. Luckily someone countered strongly that not to go would be to accept the assumptions about the students' behavior that we had refused to accept the previous evening. So, relying on this idea, I overcame my tendency to vacillate and to let each staff member decide for himself whether he or she would make the trip. I decided we were going and that a minimal number of staff must accompany us. I was surprised to find staff members who had requested not to go responding willingly to my decision that they must come. So preoccupied was I with having decisions respond to individual needs that I tended to forget that individuals often respond to well-defined common needs.

In any event, the point of this story is the bus driver. He could not be found. About to depart in a car myself, I wondered why the bus, full of students, still awaited departure. No one knew. The bus driver had simply disappeared. A search revealed him cursing over the pay phone, trying to get through to his superior. What was the problem, I asked.

"I'm not driving that bus," he spit out with animosity and finality. Perplexed, but unsure whether he would offer me another answer, I asked why.

"No one over twenty-one on the bus. No one with authority."

Again, time was of the essence. If he got through to his superior, confusion would reign.

"Why are you calling him?" I asked sharply, demanding his attention. "Why didn't you find me? I can solve that. First, there is someone over twenty-one on the bus now, one of our resident tutors. Second, we have six staff members on that bus altogether, so there's plenty of authority. Third, if you like, I'll come along too."

"No one can control those hoodlums," he shot back. "I wouldn't be caught dead driving them all the way to Newport and back. They'll slit all the seat covers on my bus."

"I'll take full responsibility for the behavior of the students, and if you tell your boss you're not driving I'll demand he fire you," I said, meeting his raise, but not enjoying the game at all.

He decided to pass. "You'll come too?"

"Yes."

"Well, okay. But I'm going to tell them if they give me any trouble, I'm dumping them right out on the highway. The whole lot of em, right then and there. I don't care where we are."

That kind of ultimatum to the students was more likely to become a self-fulfilling prophecy than a preventative, but it was clear I was not going to educate him about such niceties in the next minute, so I fled for the bus instead. I rushed up the aisle as he lumbered towards the bus, whispering urgently three times to those nearest something like:

"The driver's a bastard. Didn't want to drive us. But he's going to now. Don't pay any attention to what he says. Just play it cool. He's got the power. We got to play it his way to get there—to get what we want."

I must admit whispering those few words gave me more immediate pleasure than anything else that week. Because it was so obvious from my tone and from their looks that we were on the same side. Once again, the truism that unity is most easily achieved in the presence of a common enemy was borne out.

But matters tottered on the brink for another minute. Not all the students had heard my hurried whisper, and others had probably not registered all its implications. So, when the bus driver strode a few steps along the aisle of the bus and delivered his ultimatum in the same utterly disrespectful tone I had heard, he evoked what I can only call a murderous, rising murmur from some students. But before a second had elapsed other students turned to them to begin cooling them down. Two students nearly got into a fight as one clapped his hand over another's mouth. The roar of the motor then covered the animated conversation about the driver that consumed everyone's first hour.

Whatever may have been responsible--this beginning, the elections that morning, the resolution of the fight the day before, or simply the students worldly knowledge of how to "keep a scene together"--the trip both ways and our time at the Festival that evening were utterly tranquil. I remember Carlo marching about proudly with sweet Melinda on his arm.

UNITY OF DISSIDENCE?

So everything really was back to normal--whatever we mean by normal in constantly changing situations.

Or was it?

Over the weekend, as Greg and I moved into the Yale residential college we were to inhabit for the next six weeks, he introduced me to a side of the first week I had not been aware of. He had most recently conversed with Susan, one of the white girl tutors, who had continued tearfully far into Friday night while the rest of us were at Newport. She was more than exhausted and drained; she was devastated.

As mentioned earlier, Susan was one of those staff members whose limits students had early reconnoitered and attacked. To her, the Thursday evening decision not to expel students had seemed the last straw. Her authority flaunted the whole first week, she had looked forward to succeeding weeks when rules and enforcements would give her some handle over the students. But the lack of support for Regina and Tom and then Friday morning's decision to place ten students on the Discipline Committee spelled havoc to her. Moreover, she could not overcome her anguish that the students did not appreciate what she was trying to do for them.

She was not alone in her feelings. According to Greg, she had already begun to associate mainly with Kevin, Regina, Tom, Gail (a withdrawing woman who was already putting most of her energy into her role as art teacher while avoiding difficult confrontations), and Douglas (one of our three middle-aged staff members). Douglas was a high school science teacher whose style leaned heavily on lecturing and who had achieved least success with his section the first week.

Greg feared that if these staff members weren't given more support their inadequacies would lead them to become a dissident clique. His talk with Susan had begun the support process, for she had ended with new understanding of our purposes and renewed, if fearful, commitment to try again. Greg's acceptance of her made her realize that failure did not have to result in censure, that it could also result in friendly analysis, new learning, and increased success in the future. Of course, the students too had been exposed to only one alternative in cases of failure--censure--so it was not surprising they should censure her for her failings.

After her conversation with Greg, Susan wavered through the summer. I could see her obvious efforts to curb her temper, rejoice in the occasional breakthroughs, and consult other staff members for support when she encountered some block.

RETROSPECT

Looking back over that first week, I can see that I experienced and trusted an intuitive sense about when to 'take charge' much more than I ever had in situations with the staff during the spring meetings. Whether it was a matter of formulating an assignment for my tutees, or of pushing toward governing structure despite chaotic meetings, or of making instantaneous decisions during Thursday's conflict, I did not become paralyzed by the apparent inconsistency between unilateral leadership on the one hand, and a commitment to collaboration on the other hand. Instead, without reflecting about it, I seemed to realize that persons were not yet fully capable of pure collaboration and that there were ways in which I (or someone else, such as Luther with Melinda), could structure situations that preserved and even enhanced our collective capacity to collaborate in the future far more effectively than refraining from a strong initiative would have. Or, to put this differently, even in a situation of pure collaboration a particular person, such as Rick after the fight, may take what appears to be unilateral leadership at a given moment because he succeeds in expressing a common aspiration. Or, to put it still differently, there is a principle or spirit of collaboration which a single person or a minority may sometimes have to defend against the momentary impulses of the majority. I felt in this position at our general meetings the first two mornings of the week.

VII CHAOS OR CREATIVITY?

By Sunday evening the staff was rested and enthusiastic about the coming week. Two full nights sleep and some relaxed discussion of the first week made it all seem worthwhile. It was clear we had come a long way and, in any event, there would never be another week like the first. Now we were back in an urban, academic setting where we could more easily control the students and help them get down to work. Moreover, we would now be working with a collaboratively agreed upon framework, with rules and an enforcement process.

In a straightforward demonstration that they weren't exactly negative about the program themselves, students began appearing at the locked college gate from lunchtime on, five hours ahead of schedule. While reassuring, their early appearance was not particularly convenient since many staff members were away, and the guard, whose presence was required for the gate to be open, did not come on duty till later.

This matter of locked gates can use some explanation. The Yale residential colleges are built on the model of medieval castles, complete with moats. During the academic year their gates are open for the most part, but during the summer all gates to the colleges remain locked. We had arranged to have two guards man one gate and patrol the college for sixteen hours a day. From 11 P.M. to 7 A.M. all gates to the college would be locked. Staff members were given gate keys.

Living in rooms with lockable doors meant that students in the program could bring record players and good clothes with them, and we were amazed at the loads of paraphernalia that began to be imported that afternoon. It had never occurred to us that we would have to decide whether students could bring televisions. On the spur of the moment, envisioning endless competition for front row seats and a constant diversion from school work, we ruled out t.v. The father who was busy installing a set meekly complied.

Living in rooms with lockable doors also meant that particular persons were assigned to particular rooms and only they had keys to that room. This procedure contrasted to the more open cabins at camp where whole tutor groups had shared spaces. The students had complained bitterly of the primitive accomodations at camp, so the staff was unprepared for the new complaints they began to hear Sunday afternoon. Now the complaints had nothing to do with primitiveness. Indeed, the rooms were virtually luxurious. These complaints had to do with the rooming combinations designed by the tutors. Nobody seemed satisfied with their prospective roommates.

From the first night onwards it became vitually impossible to keep the students in their own rooms. It turned out that the roommate issue was, for the most part, a symptom of students' unfamiliarity with so much personal space. Several students complained that they could not sleep in a bed by themselves. Often when I waked the boys in the mornings, I would find six or eight asleep in the same suite, two or three to a bed, others draped over chairs.

Living in rooms with lockable doors also meant that there were things to be locked away from others. But the mobility among rooms and the presence of many entryways of unused rooms filled with Yale students' valuables presented unparalled opportunities for increasing one's share of the wealth. The unused entryways could not be sealed off, for hallways connected all entryways on the top floor and through the basement. Students missing valuables and unused rooms broken into became major irritants of the summer. To make matters worse, the regular presence of visiting friends of the students during the early weeks made it difficult to determine to what extent the problem of thievery was internal and to what extent external.

The initial policy on visitors was that each student could have two visitors during the afternoon or evening, so long as he or she remained with them. Within two days this policy proved unbearable to all of us. Friends of students would appear at the gate, announcing their intention to visit so-and-so. By the middle of the afternoon as many non-program teenagers as program members would inhabit the college, most of them unattached to anyone. The visitors wittingly and unwittingly interfered with many of our activities.

Twice that week we curtailed our visitors' policy, once at a general meeting in the morning, once in the Discipline Committee (which without formal decision became a legislative body as well as judiciary body). By the end of the week, visitors were permitted only Tuesdays and Thursdays, had to be met at the gate by their host, and had to carry a tag with their host's name while visiting.

The gate proved to be a momentous boundary that week, not only in terms of visitors coming in, but also in terms of students going out.

l to be in by 11 P.M. when the gate closed and the guard left. been discussion of having a staff member keep the gate open t the inconvenience, as well as parents' likely objections to ir children on the town later than eleven, dissuaded the major-

less to say, the theory of having all students in by eleven was y tested in practice. Three students aroused staff members to ate after midnight on Sunday. They were told they would have to ore the Discipline Committee. Then, on Monday night, another ents arrived well after eleven. The students inside the gate, ready learned that this game could be enhanced by shouting them in" and trying to keep the gate shut, seized on an additional s time. The three truant girls were Carmen, Brenda, and Elaine, r of whom had missed the first week at camp. "Keep 'em out," the dents shouted. "Won't do no good bringing them before the Discimittee cause Carmen and Brenda already on it!" So, with much glee ing of palms ("give me five" "give me ten"), the insiders shared rance that this system, like all others they had known, was y corrupt.

OF THE DISCIPLINE COMMITTEE

rried messages of violations to John Darius, who, as chairman of line Committee, would call a meeting and ask the offenders to I must confess that I initially carried these messages with a sense ling. I too feared that the Discipline Committee would turn out to be a travesty, or simply too large to handle the range and complexity of problems presented to it.

But John's response carried reassurance. He immediately defined two tasks for himself: talking individually to all offendants slated to appear before the committee to be sure they realized that they would be asked to participate fully in the discussion of their cases and that the purpose of the committee was not so much punishment but change; secondly, he intended to talk to other members of the committee to reinforce the importance of equal justice in the case involving Carmen and Brenda.

So well did he do the job of talking to Carmen and Brenda, however, that his conversations with other members of the committee turned out to have been unnecessary. When it came time for their "case" on Wednesday night, they simply stated their belief that they should not sit with the committee in deciding punishment for themselves and that they were indeed guilty of breaking our rule. The rest of the committee, tensed for another fight because the students who had been late Sunday night had just finished barraging them with excuses and attacks on the legitimacy of committee, spent an unusual moment of silence digesting this statement. Then one member of the committee, unable to resist the opportunity to attack the vulnerable, asked accusingly whether they thought they deserved to remain on the committee, having broken a rule. Carmen replied that she felt they deserved the same punishment that any other student would receive and that she realized now that it was particularly corrosive of our system if members of the discipline committee broke rules, but that they deserved another chance. The same member returned to the attack, but before Carmen's patience broke John interrupted strongly, maintaining that such attacks would only alienate offenders and that no one of the committee was perfect. Another silence. John asked Carmen, Brenda and Elaine to leave the room while the committee reached its decision. They were restricted to the campus for three days, just as the Sunday-night latecomers had been a few minutes before. Rob, who reported these events to me later, was astounded by the care and competence that John brought to his role. Like Carlo, he seemed willing and able to wrestle with the problems of the program with the dedication, sensitivity, and perspective one might have expected of a staff member.

The decision on Carmen and Brenda enormously enhanced the reputation of the Discipline Committee. Students crowded around the tutor at the gate the following evening to check the list of restricted persons and point with glee at Carmen's and Brenda's names. Not that this reputation made the Committee's work noticeably easier. Students still tended to strive mightily to disavow responsibility for their offenses, showing legal and rehtorical brilliance that was never reflected in their class work. How could you be guilty if the rules changed constantly and you didn't know the new rule? How come one was being accused of missing three classes when another wasn't (usually due to doctor's appointments, but a good diversionary tactic because members of the committee might not know)? How could the tutor know it was me climbing over the fence when it was dark and she was twenty yards away? Why shouldn't boys be in girls' rooms anyway? Didn't a defendant have the right of attorney? What if the committee did punish the defendant, couldn't he simply not obey the punishment, and if the committee again punished him, couldn't the defendant ignore that penalty too? What ultimate, real power did the committee have?

During the early meetings of the committee, its members often prompted or reacted to such questions by angrily threatening the offender with worse punishments. But gradually John and Rob educated the other committee members not to get hooked into such exchanges and to focus instead on leading the defendants to look at their own behavior responsibly, and, when the committee did punish, to find creative punishments that fit the crime, the criminal, and the community. In the process, committee members were forced into self-examination. What could they expect of themselves and their friends, given their difficult backgrounds? Why did they tend to become harsh as soon as they assumed official positions? What kind of arguments or relationships really made a difference in their own behavior and might thus be effective with other students who appeared before the committee? In retrospect, it appears that the committee was extraordinarily successful as an educational vehicle for its own members, only moderately successful at controlling other students' behavior (but certainly not damaging as many disciplinary systems are), and least successful at educating other students directly. On the other hand, its existence was always alluded to by students talking to outsiders as evidence of our uniqueness as a program.

WHITE PHILOSOPHY, BLACK ANGER

The Discipline Committee did not resolve Sunday and Monday nights' violations until Wednesday evening because another event had intervened on Tuesday evening. I had invited Paul Weiss, the world renowned Yale metaphysician, to talk to our students on Tuesday evening. A short, pubnacious man with a Brooklyn taxi driver accent, Weiss had aroused excited discussions at the Yale Summer High School for two summers by abrasive assertions and devastating questioning of any counterpositions. For example, a troubled question about the existence or non-existence of God would arouse from him the assurance that he could offer some 27 proofs of His existence. Among bright, intellectually-oriented students such assertions goaded rebuttals and fierce argument.

I was less sure his visit to Upward Bound would bear fruit. Not only were our students several steps removed from direct intellectual absorption, but our experience in general meetings at camp made me unsure that they would permit any kind of sequential public conversation.

The staff spent the few minutes before 8 PM rounding up students from the dormitories and off the green to enter the common room. The meeting began slowly, the students not knowing what to expect, Weiss searching for a topic that interested them, throwing out rhetorical questions to test their response. As soon as a student would respond, Weiss would jump on the response with a series of questions. Instead of stimulating the students, this procedure usually resulted in the students' desultory withdrawal. Such withdrawal would, in turn, provoke Weiss to further probing in efforts to draw a response, only to be met by determined and increasingly hostile silences.

After about twenty awkward minutes, someone raised the issue of Black Power, then a new phenomenon, and civil rights. Weiss immediately took the offensive, as was his style, by maintaining that the Black Power movement contradicted the civil rights effort which aimed at determining and asserting what all men had in common. To stress common rights was appropriate philosophically, he argued, because it educated persons beyond the superficial features which differentiate men to the abstract essence shared by all men which binds them into community.

This time, instead of silence, he found takers on all sides. The students couldn't follow his big words and abstract reasoning or respond directly to it, but they could hear that he was 'putting down' Black Power, and they easily equated that with putting down black people per se. So they began to object angrily. And they were aided and abetted by numerous staff members who not only disagreed with Weiss on philosophical grounds, but also were angered by his mode of argument, feeling that he was indeed 'putting down' the black students as persons.

Weiss, in turn, became angered by the impoliteness and irrationality of the audience ganging up against him, not listening to his views, nor truly giving him a chance to respond to all the opinions and questions that were fired at him. Small groups of students talking and swearing about Weiss' views began to break away from the main conversation. Several students exited angrily, slamming doors. John Darius rose and wandered behind Weiss laconically, raising two fingers in a V over the back of his head. The rest laughed. Weiss was furious. I struggled to maintain some kind of dialogue, most excited that the students were finally publicly engaged in conversation on a topic of deep concern to them. Other staff members began exiting to talk to the students who were shouting outside, trying to keep the conversation

Weiss left relatively early, wounded by his reception and convinced that the program was out of control and the students barbaric. In the meantime, the conversation he had so energetically and insensitively sparked continued far into the night. Small groups of students and staff were still talking in the courtyard at 3 AM when I turned in.

It was no dispassionate conversation. The black students were angry. They threatened every white face in sight. Sonny Bates, of the toothache, actually slugged Kevin when the latter tried to prosecute the conversation in a too intellectualistic, condescending manner. (This time the 'physiological' theory did not apply.) Later Ray talked another student into lowering the chair with which he had cornered two white boys.

Weiss was willing to examine all presuppositions at a philosophical level, but obviously made some assumptions about how conversations ought to proceed on a behavioral level that it did not occur to him to examine. One assumption appeared to be that emotions ought at all moments to be controlled by reason. A number of staff members made the same kind of assumption and consequently experienced the evening as yet another disconfirmation of their expectation that the hard work of establishing relationships had been finished the first week and that they could turn to a smoother transaction of inculcating academic skills.

To others of us, however, the evening marked a definite step forward in our educational enterprise. The students had been willing, for the first time, to become emotionally engaged in public in a conversation which concerned all of them (at least all the blacks). This seemed a major step from the kind of dissociation and destructiveness we had experienced in our general meetings the first week. We expected, as Greg had posited, that the students first needed to be heard, and, over time, once they were convinced someone was listening, they would begin to become concerned with reasoning about their feelings.

In retrospect, it is clear that on this matter Greg was correct. In events to be described in the following pages, the students showed a developing capacity in public meetings to maintain silence and decorum in order to hear out important arguments; then to listen to one another's experience closely and respectfully enough to build theories from it; next to tolerate enduring differences of opinion without demanding conformity; and finally, during the following school year, to make decisions on a consensual basis when beginning in disagreement, and this without faculty leadership.

STRUGGLES OF THE TUTORS

Without this retrospective vision to support either party, the issue remained very much alive at Wednesday's tutor meeting. Nor did that meeting resolve the matter, for the tutors generally could not 'see' their conversations with students in behavioral terms. They could see only the content of the discussions. They became discouraged if they carefully reasoned something out with a student and then found him contradicting the conclusion an hour later. They tended not to discriminate between telling a student reasons for something and helping him to find reasons. Although in both these cases the reasons may be identical, the tutors' behavior and its effect on the student is not. The tutors overlooked that 'reasoning out' of the former kind tended to lead to later contradictions on the part of students, whereas reasoning of the latter kind gave the student a chance to become internally committed to his conclusions. Moreover, this behavioral blindness often prevented the tutors from helping one another at their own meetings to become more effective.

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Rob had argued at some length against expelling any students from the program. He maintained that since we had not chosen them for their responsiveness to, or constructiveness in, school but had rather taken as our task to encourage greater engagement on their part in their education, it hardly made sense to punish them for not being responsive or constructive. Instead, we should use every opportunity to involve students in conversation about their conduct and the aims of the school.

Rob's argument ended in a silence. He had 'told' the tutors, just as Weiss and sometimes the tutors 'told' the students.

Trying to do what Rob was saying and thereby engage the rest of the staff, I asked how those who hadn't yet spoken felt.

Gail, who had been silent, ridiculed my question as copycattyish, "Rob mentions going around the group to get students talking so you do it here!" This evoked nervous laughter.

Feeling somewhat discouraged ~~rejected~~, but trying to be more encouraged that Gail had talked for the first time, ~~than discouraged by what she said~~. I responded as non-defensively as possible, "As he said, some are timid and some are indifferent, and I suspect that's true here too. I would like to check."

Perhaps it was my reaffirmation of investment, perhaps my lack of direct questioning which now left more initiative to the respondent; in any

On this particular Wednesday one of the issues was what to do about Sonny's hitting Kevin the previous evening and, more generally, whether expelling students from the program was ever a proper punishment. A portion of the dialogue, appearing over the next several pages, illustrates the tutors' distance from effective helping behavior.

event, Gail's tone changed to troubled openness, as she admitted, "I don't have any solution to the problem, but it has been bothering me very much."

I now wanted to check my belief that the tutor's blindness to behavioral changes contributed to their frustration and sense of failure: "Do people here feel that talking to a student has ever yielded anything? In other words, do you feel that there are significant alternatives to punishment?"

"Not with immediate results," came the straightforward answer from Tom.

The starkness of this response must have increased the tension, for an explosion of laughter followed Ray's quipped revision, "If there are any, we haven't found them."

Although what he said reinforced Tom's reply, how he said it suggested that the topic had reached a dead end.

Nevertheless, Gail continued in a contemplative tone, "Something happens suddenly and talking about it seems so removed, so long. The lack of immediacy is very frustrating."

Kevin, aware of how this 'game' ought to be played, moved the conversation to a concrete example, suggesting that he alone talk to Sonny about their altercation the previous evening. It is difficult to convey the infuriating quality in Kevin's tone. Disingenuous sincerity and constructive competitiveness seemed mixed in a schmorgasbord of overtones that evoked instinctive hostility in everyone he faced.

Now, Gene Renfroe, obviously hoping to gain some insight by further exploration, but also betraying an undertone of annoyance, fed Kevin the straight line he was awaiting: "How would you do that?"

Kevin plunged ahead confidently, "First, I would sit down..." but trailed off as though he realized that the gap between his confident tone and the recent declarations that others did not know how to talk with students effectively might breed hostility. "...I would sit down because it might take a long time," he amended in a more humble tone. "I would look for an admission that he was high yesterday--I mean generally high, not high on anything specific..."

"He would not admit that," snapped Ray.

"I'm not so sure," protested Kevin weakly.

"By the way, he was on pot," Ray further informed Kevin, continuing to weaken the foundations of Kevin's purported solution.

"...And I would ask him if we could permit this kind of thing to go on," Kevin struggled against mounting odds. "I don't think he would give me a yes."

Susan, distracted by a point peripheral to the line of this conversation, whined, "But in the first week we decided that students could not touch staff. It's more than a personal matter between you and him. It's the first rule we made."

This diversion permitted Kevin to reassemble his humble confidence: "I would prefer to give him a chance of coming up with the answer himself before doing something externally," he intoned.

Luther, apparently nettled by Susan's tone, supported Kevin's enlightened orthodoxy without adding further illumination: "What Susan said about rules--obviously the students don't care about rules. Sitting down together may lead to understanding."

"I'm really dubious about understanding," countered Ray knowingly and ominously. "Maybe there are bigger and better things in store for us!"

"I hope some of the hostility can be verbalized rather than actualized. I didn't gain much information yesterday except that Sonny throws a mean left; not why," Kevin finished, at once too cutely for the gravity of the situation and too ponderously to be genuine.

The conversation moved on to other students. Sonny and Kevin were asked to meet with the Discipline Committee.

But as far as I could see, no tutors learned anything about how to spot or enact more effective behavior; nor that this kind of learning was even possible; nor how their own behavior was interfering with fully exploring topics right there at our own meeting. Instead, I suspected Kevin would remember the theoretical acuity of his argument, Ray his knowledgeable challenges, Heather the historical validity of her point of view, etc. This self-reinforcing, thematic quality of their memories would further mitigate against learning. The conversation may have yielded the tutors some comfort from sharing their common dilemmas and also some sense of control by their ideological and rhetorical flourishes, but neither seem to me a very promising substitute for learning.

Why is my assessment of this incident so harsh (it feels harsh to me), and what was I doing to change these dynamics? As I recall my state, I can identify how much it cost me psychically each time I intervened and found my sense of direction uncompelling to others on the staff. I must have held some expectation of openness to experiential learning on the part of the staff that

I did not hold for the students, as well as some assumption that my confronting staff members would imply disrespect of them.

Perhaps I was projecting on others my own fear of being wrong. This resulted in disappointment when their efforts to become right did not meet my standards and in my unwillingness to create what by my standards would be a crisis if I confronted them forcefully.

Whatever the emotional origin of my relative reticence with the staff, I often felt more distant from their individual experience than from students, and I certainly lacked the sense of easy, exciting engagement with them that I could feel with students even at scary and frustrating moments.

THEY LOVE US, THEY LOVE US NOT

By Monday morning of the third week we had already negotiated two episodes that keynoted that week. The first had occurred over the weekend. One of the girls, Henrietta Jones, had been shunted around among foster parents for years, and the most recent set was giving up on her and remanding her to the state. In order for her to stay at the program, we had to find someone willing to act as her foster-family for the weekends. Mary Wilkerson, who, along with her husband, was teaching one of the core classes, volunteered. But when they went to a movie together Saturday night, Henrietta asked to return to the lobby to buy candy and disappeared. She returned to the program Sunday night without a word of explanation, apology, or thanks. Although relieved that Henrietta was alright, Mary understandably didn't feel she could offer to be her guardian again.

This episode confirmed my suspicion, growing reluctantly for two weeks, that Henrietta could not be trusted at all. She seemed to be a pathological liar, lying even when there would have been no harm in telling the truth and when her lie was so flimsy that it immediately revealed itself. Without even acknowledging that she had been caught, she would construct another lie to try to account for the previous discrepancy.

This pattern alone was hard enough to deal with and had succeeded in exasperating the Discipline Committee into attacking her during the second week. But there was more. It became evident that she invited boys from outside the program to crawl over the moat into her window, resulting in a busy schedule of room checking for the tutors in her wing. A pretty, light skinned black girl, Henrietta evidently derived her small, ambivalent sense of pleasure and value by sleeping with white boys, having already developed some repute among Yale undergraduates, we later learned.

Rob, who had become our emissary to the mental health service on students with whom we needed help reported that Henrietta had already negotiated and rejected individual and group therapy. She, like a number of our students, exhibited symptoms too grave to respond to occasional therapy. The psychiatrist felt that our total therapeutic environment had a far greater chance of "reaching" Henrietta than therapy hours. In the meantime, of course, Henrietta was straining our environment.

The psychiatrist further suggested that Henrietta had adopted a pattern of preempting rejection by rejecting potential parents. The very fact that she seemed so frantic in her efforts to end her relationship with us indicated to the psychiatrist that we were already "reaching" her. Needless to say, the staff was greatly cheered upon realizing that it was succeeding and that such were the rewards of success!

Before hearing this diagnosis at the tutor meeting Wednesday, we encountered a parallel episode with Hank Chase Sunday night. Sending the students home for the weekends to give the staff a chance to rest was turning out to be a mixed blessing, for the students would return noticeably upset by their brief reencounters with the different cultures represented by their families. One could argue that the emotional recalibration required each week of the students permitted them over time to choose clearly which kind of environment they wished to create in their own lives; but, however correct such an argument might be, it felt academic to the staff when the weekend's rest was dissipated on Sunday night.

Hank had told Rob during the first week at camp that he had no intention of making any friends at the program because he had tried too often without success and here failure was guaranteed since we would all be parting so soon. This Sunday evening he managed to hitch a ride to campus with another family when his mother couldn't be bothered to drive him because her boyfriend was visiting. No doubt hurt by this sign of rejection, Hank set out to heal his wound by forcing us to reject him as well. At least he could force the environment to respond consistently, he no doubt hoped subconsciously. During the early evening he ran through the halls and courtyard screaming. At 2 A.M. just after the staff had managed to quiet him and the rest of the campus, he placed his record player in his third story window facing the courtyard, turning the volume as loud as possible. Around 3 A.M. he began playing an electric guitar and singing in the corridor. Intermittently, he would burst into my room, located on the first floor of his entryway, to interrupt discussions and swear at us all. Still later he entered my darkened room to shine a flashlight into my eyes until I opened them.

Up until this time, one staff member at a time had returned Hank to his room, talking to him til he quieted. Now I woke Greg in the next room, found Rob still pacing the courtyard, and the three of us insisted that Hank meet with us in my room until we could be assured his disruptions would cease. Confronted with attention but not rejection, Hank alternately joked, threatened us, and tried to talk seriously. We rather ruthlessly cut off the jokes and threats, telling him bluntly why we thought he was acting as he was and challenging him to accept or reject our analysis directly. Twice we restrained him physically from leaving the room because we felt he was avoiding the issue. When he said he hated us, we invited him to show us how much by hitting the sofa cushions. This exercise evoked his rage, and he ended huddled on the sofa, weeping and swearing at his mother's boyfriend. Relaxed and quieted, he headed for bed at 5:30 A.M.

As Gene Renfroe, his tutor, reported at Wednesday's meeting, "Hank was really nice the last two nights and let us get to sleep at 3." He did not create general disturbances again that week (although later he and some of the other white boys began using airplane glue to get high). He approached me Monday morning with a good-natured hello and, to my surprise, an apology for his behavior. He even promised to serve as guard to ensure that no other students disturbed my sleep for the rest of the week. Without wishing to look a gift horse in the mouth, but fearing his offer would be more likely to create than prevent disturbance, I joked seriously that successfully patrolling himself would be significant enough an accomplishment. Deciding to share the joke, he agreed and thereafter reported his self-patrol efforts to me each morning for several days.

The tutors were still struggling to meet these strains constructively. In fact, in addition to a variety of pre-planned seminars which started the second week on topics such as "The Existence of God" and "Shakespearean Literature," several tutors took the initiative at the outset of the third week to offer French, Math and swimming lessons. At our Wednesday tutor meeting during the third week, the agenda included such unresolved issues as:

1) when to sleep;
2) what to do about students missing clothes and room keys;
3) how to tell which students really had morning medical appointments;
4) what to do about students not living in their original rooms;
5) how to arrange the evening gate schedule so that the same tutor was not always stuck with the uneviable task of ushering out guests;
6) who should ride with the bus to the up-coming Newport Folk Festival;
7) exploring discrepancies in ways of handling given students;
8) how to relate the core curriculum, which that week dealt with "Freedom and Conformity," to our problems of living together.

The whole staff acted aggressively to consider all eight of the items, sharing information about fifteen specific students in the process.

RESTRUCTURING THE SCHOOL

Nevertheless, by Thursday night a number of us were so dissatisfied with the lack of academic progress in the program that we found ourselves turning an informal conversation into a full scale plan for restructuring the school. Tutors would be asked to attend breakfast with their students to assure they really got to class in the morning, and only then return to sleep if they so wished; writing tutorials would be formalized into writing workshops at 11 each morning, to combat the looseness of repeated individual arrangements of meeting times; a staff member would be given specific responsibility for overseeing the athletic activities in the afternoon; there would be a midnight curfew. Also, I felt something would have to be done about Douglas' core class; it simply was not working. Student response to his lectures and strained questions had quickly progressed from disenchantment to disappearance. But I doubted that he would be open to, or capable of, changing his teaching style overnight, so I was unsure how to deal with the problem.

At Friday afternoon's faculty meeting, I presented the new plan amid considerable discussion about how many students would or would not respond to a more formal writing workshop, about how many of the post-midnight conversations were important moments of education, and about what requiring breakfast meant (must the students actually eat?). Weary staff members anticipated ways in which students might be able to circumvent each aspect of the proposed structure. I agreed that each aspect of the structure was subvertable and that this plan would not magically reverse their unregulated pattern of life. But I argued that the parts of the revised structure would tend to complement and support one another rather than to counter one another.

At this point, Douglas burst into the conversation angrily. "You've been saying all along what these youngsters aren't accustomed to doing. Now you go around their neighborhoods. I doubt you'll see a light on at 1 A.M. Dad's going to work next morning and he'll be damned if he'll have noise or TV. And this stuff about saying they do it at home is a bunch of crap. Some rules is what they're asking for."

He found support from Regina's, "I know. I think this has been an extraordinary picnic so far."

"Come on down, man, the water's fine!" Douglas mimicked a student.

"Yeah," Tim countered, "But I think the way we were talking last night was, if we had done this initially it would have met with a lot of resentment, resistance, and things of this sort. But now I think that most of the kids realize that this can't be the scene permanently and that they want more structure now. The first or second week they would have rebelled."

"Oh, they've been having a great time rebelling," Douglas returned with gleeful sarcasm.

"I don't think post-mortems are the point," Bert Wilkerson mediated severely. And I tried to move on, "In either event. . ."

Douglas: "Let's tell them 'Lights off!' insist they be off, insist they go to breakfast, and insist they stay up all day."

Accepting what Douglas said as agreement to the new schedule, rather than investigating his anger, I outlined our ideas for new daytime hours.

For half an hour we explored every possible way of arranging the daytime hours and rearranging the class groupings to give us some new leverage with the students we weren't reaching.

During this time Douglas let off another angry blast, this time at the way students avoided their obligations. I began to realize more fully that Douglas' lack of success was frustrating him as well as his students and that he was looking for some place to lay the blame.

Corky Potter, the vivacious vice-principal of one of the local high schools who, unable to join our regular staff, was interviewing our students to discover their reactions to the program, provided support from time to time by reporting her positive impressions of our impact on our students. She felt that we had already changed the attitudes of 45 of the 60 students towards their own education. She also reported that when she asked students what adult they felt closest to, whether in their family, school or community, almost all named some staff member in the program.

David volunteered to take all the most difficult students into his core class, distributing the five students who were already working well for him among the other classes. Tim Weston identified two students whom he wasn't reaching for David's class, but wished to continue with the other ten and a couple of David's 'good' students. Likewise, the Wilkersons and Anna identified a student or two for David.

Douglas approached his larger problem at once openly and obliquely: "One kid came up to me and asked to change, and I gave him my best wishes. Right now I average about six a day in core class, but I would say three of those six are not with it because they're sleeping or something. One of the girls that I consider pretty sharp is pulling the same antics here that she did in school last year. And some other kids are pulling the same antics here that they did in school last year: evade classes, wander around unattached. They don't like to be driven, but they won't cooperate."

Next, I tried approaching his larger problem at once openly and obliquely, as indicated by my hesitations and incomplete sentences: "I wonder whether--you know, one thing I had in mind as we were talking last night--I had a sense and maybe you can verify or negate it--that, as far as the core classes and teaching in general was concerned, that the two people I felt weren't being used completely--to their satisfaction completely and to their full use--were Anna and Douglas. I thought that the other people were very much involved in their core class, and Anna I think is quite involved in her core class, but I just thought that you--" addressing myself to Anna who was visibly reacting," that's why I was thinking of having you coordinate this writing business..."

"That's a complete surprise to me," said Anna, drawing the focus away from Douglas, as I must subconsciously have hoped. "Where did you get that impression?"

I told her I was concerned that she had to wait around during the middle of the afternoon without doing anything for her late afternoon Shakespeare seminar. "And Douglas I know--I've heard--that you're not completely satisfied with your core class by any means and you're not, of course, able to use any of your scientific abilities." He did not reply directly, but a little later he interpolated, "I like tough nuts to crack. I like tough kids--kids who just don't like to cooperate the way proper students cooperate. But how can you get some of these guys to cooperate when you can't get your hands on them?" This plea sounded to me more like an excuse than an explanation in the context of the greater success of the other core teachers.

Someone else suggested starting a science class, and I agreed we ought to consider this: still no contribution from Douglas towards a solution.

Now the conversation turned to the general meeting before core class each morning, at which I tended to hold discussion of general school issues. David and Greg attacked its usefulness, while Mary and Anna suggested that better discussions about the same issues might occur in the core classes. I suggested that I relay the relevant issues to the core teachers during the ten minutes before class each day. We quickly agreed.

In order to bring all the diverse pieces of the conversation together into a coherent, shared understanding of the revised structure, I took a more forceful role and turned back to Anna and Douglas: "Now they're still two questions I'd like to resolve: Anna and Douglas. Now I'd like to get-- I'd like to feel you were more involved, Douglas, and satisfied with what you're doing and I'd like to work something..."

"Well, I had one person mention to me that the introductory physics that she took last year, that she'd like to do more of it," he offered tentatively. "Now the problem with this young lady is to corral her."

"Who is she?" I asked.

"Shattuck." A sympathetic murmur followed his naming of our dear Melinda. Kevin volunteered to help Douglas, and they named three other students they thought might be interested. I said that even if there were only five or six students altogether who chose the science course I would support it as a better use of his and their time than now.

"I actually would love--I really think I'd be accomplishing something," replied Douglas, enthusiastic for the first time that week.

Trying to provide still more backing for the idea, I added, "Some people have said they don't think we ought to have one special alternative to the core class, but in this case..."

"The core's a wonderful thing..." interrupted Douglas in a loud, exasperated tone, obviously leading up to an emphatic "but".

"But you and it don't fit together very well." I interceded.

"No," he denied, "it's been the cooperation of the people in my group. I think I have some leaders in the group, some people who ignite things here after hours and these people are exhausted in the morning."

From there I closed out the meeting with the suggestion that we review the changes in structure and the reasons for the changes with our classes the next morning, using the opportunity to approach the dilemma of freedom and conformity from the perspective of our own community.

STRUCTURAL OR INTERPERSONAL CHANGE?

Listening to the tape of that meeting for the first time four years later, I have found myself reflecting about several issues. One issue is the relative impact on organizational effectiveness of increasing the coherence of participants' shared conceptual structure as compared to increasing the competence of participants' interpersonal styles in a situation. The faculty meeting certainly had no impact on Douglas' or anyone else's interpersonal style. Douglas' tendency to lecture, then ask heavy questions after he had already lost students' attention would remain unchanged. On the other hand, the meeting had significantly altered the school's structure. To use Douglas as an example again, he would now be teaching a subject he knew and would be teaching fewer students. Thus, he was likely to be more confident, open to challenge, informative, and, to the extent that he still fell short of other teachers' skill, he would be affecting fewer students adversely. Not only did this seem a significant change for the better, it was accomplished far more easily than increasing Douglas' interpersonal competence would have been, as indicated by his unwillingness to take the initiative in exploring how his own style contributed to his ineffectiveness. Furthermore, changing the structure of the school seemed to make everybody feel competent and united, whereas changing a person's interpersonal style might create feelings of incompetence and division.

Do these considerations add up to the conclusion that structural changes provide more organizational leverage than interpersonal changes? Obviously, as they stand they do. But they are incomplete. We need to consider also what actual impact these structural changes had. Unfortunately, the answer must be: virtually no positive impact and some definite negative impact. That is, we were not noticeably more successful during the fourth week at getting the students to bed at midnight, up for core class, or involved in afternoon activities. And at the same time, the writing workshops turned out to be a disaster. Far from increasing attendance by their regularity, they syphoned off attendance by their compared impersonality relative to the tutorials.

The sense of unity and mission the staff had developed through the meeting at the end of the third week collapsed into a sense of defeatism towards the end of the fourth week.

These results suggest that what really needed changing were our expectations of the pace at which we could move with the students, as well as our tendency to focus away from ourselves towards structural issues when thinking of change. But both of these changes would require awareness of the quality and limitations of one's interpersonal competence, so we are brought full circle.

A second and related issue arose as I tried to understand the pattern of Douglas' anger during that meeting. It seemed to me that a very complex set of social expectations kept him from seeing very clearly what made his interactions with students so unsuccessful. His first attack on me referred to neighborhoods where no lights were on at 1:00 A.M. because fathers must go to work the next morning. Douglas must have been talking mainly from his own experience in a middle class black home, as was Regina when she supported him. By contrast, relatively few of our students had fathers living at home. But the issue was still more subtle. For many of the parents of our students talked a very strict disciplinary game, and stories from the students revealed that their parents could be exceedingly harsh disciplinarians at times. But the mothers were often out working or tending younger children, so in fact most of the students were not at all accustomed to close supervision. Thus, Douglas' expectations about how the students customarily acted were supported both by his own experience, and by their parents' rhetoric; but probably not by the students' actual practice.

Pretty soon, however, Douglas' anger turned toward the students themselves who were "pulling the same antics here that they did in school last year." If, indeed, the students' pattern with us was similar to what it was during the school year, then Douglas' first argument is again thrown into question. Was his anger really directed at the students rather than at my assumptions? Does he not like these students, or at least not like working with them? He himself answers these questions in the negative when he, still later in the conversation, claims "I like tough nuts to crack. I like tough kids..."

Should one simply dismiss Douglas's statements as irrational and irrelevant because they are so full of inconsistencies? I think not. For we would thereby be dismissing his feelings and their origin too, and would consequently be overlooking a lot of data about the impact of this experience on at least one person. Let us instead ask what Douglas was feeling. I have already suggested that anger was one part, as indicated by the vehemence of his voice. And I believe his inconsistencies further imply feelings of stress, ambivalence, and frustration.

DON'T LIKE TO BE DRIVEN, BUT WON'T COOPERATE

If we ask what is the origin of these feelings, I believe Douglas himself provides the answer when he points to a dilemma that is for him apparently irresolvable: "They don't like to be driven, but they won't cooperate." To me, this dilemma suggests two solutions by its very formulation. The first is to "drive" the students even though they don't like it. Douglas could appreciate this solution, as evidenced by his repeated "insist they do this, *insist* they do that" at one point in the conversation. The second solution would be to *create* cooperation rather than simply *expect* cooperation. Creating cooperation implies building trust through risks taken by both parties to the relationship. I can find no evidence that Douglas could appreciate *this* solution. Instead, he simply laments the students' lack of cooperation and ends by denying that this situation suggests anything about his *relationship* to them (in response to my comment that he and the core class did not fit together).

But why is he unable to resolve the dilemma by applying the first solution? The most obvious answer is that up until the time of this meeting, "driving" the students as Douglas would have liked would have contradicted the main drift of the atmosphere of the program. An ironic supplement to this answer, however, is that those staff members who had developed most trust with the students were also most successful in "driving" them. Thus, Anna, who was as black, as middle-aged, and as middle-class as Douglas, had been taking attendance on her students each day and averaging one absence each morning. Similarly, some staff members were noticeably more successful than others at "driving" students from bed without rancor in the morning. So, the less obvious answer seems to be that Douglas' lack of appreciation for the *second* solution to the dilemma presented by the students prevented him from successfully applying the first solution. Or, more generally, you can only "drive" people who are willing to cooperate.*

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*This way of stating the generalization presents it as a two-edged sword. It can refer to the ability of a genuine teacher to "drive" his students to transcend themselves once he has developed trust with them, i.e., once they too feel like active initiators in the exchange. On the other hand, it can refer to the ability of a dictator to "drive" his people towards irresponsibility once they have chosen to forfeit their initiative and accept passive roles.

Our analysis of Douglas' behavior suggests the same basic barrier we encountered when analyzing the behavior of the resident tutors: he seems unattracted to looking at the role his behavior plays in creating a situation which he describes as external to himself; not only unattracted to look, but also unwilling to look and unaware of the possibility of looking.

And again, as in the case of the analysis of the tutor meeting, I must ask myself, what was my role in this interaction? To what extent did I create the situation which I have so far analyzed as though it were external to me?

Clearly, I took a strong lead in focusing on structural issues rather than interpersonal issues and, when I did raise the issue with Douglas, I again turned to structural solutions rather than interpersonal confrontation. I know that (as my hesitations and evasions indicated) I was scared of a direct confrontation with Douglas--another example of my by-now-familiar pattern of fear of conflict.

But my reasons for focusing on structural issues were not purely neurotic. They also involved a sense of historical timing, which even now I am struggling to evaluate as valid or invalid. As Tim Weston suggested during the meeting, we were initiating a change-in-the structure-of-the-program-so-that-we-could-drive-the-students-more precisely because we believed that we had succeeded in generating sufficient trust with them to make such a change feasible. At the same time, we hoped that such a change would help to break down the growing polarization on the staff between those who, like Douglas and Regina, believed we should have been driving the students more all along and those who believed generating trust was the first priority.

The meeting was felt as a reconciling one within the staff, although I have already raised a question about how valid that reconciliation was, i.e., to what extent it really resolved the underlying issues. I believe it also reassured the staff that there were moments when I was willing to take strong leadership to make sure we resolved organizational issues. Again, however, I wonder now to what extent this reassurance was not merely lulling, not merely a set-up for the sense of defeat at the end of the following week.

These considerations seem to weigh at least slightly against the "historical" justification for focusing on structural issues. Still, I am not satisfied with this as a final judgment of the incident. I find that I cannot clearly verbalize the ultimate intuition upon which my behavior was based. It included a sense that a number of staff members were near the limits of their endurance and needed rather desperately to experience a to-them-rational-structuring-of-the-to-them-chaotic-situation. Someone with more interpersonal competence than I then had might have been able to use this nearness-to-limits as leverage for significant change in those staff members. But from the vantage point of my relative human understanding and skill and the distance of most staff members from direct learning about their behavior (as indicated by the dialogues in the spring staff meetings and again in the summer tutor meetings), I could only imagine resistance from staff members such as Douglas if I attempted to focus on interpersonal issues at this time.

VIII CHAOS OR CREATIVITY? (II)

After this long sojourn in the land of the staff, let us return to the events that were making a difference to the students.

The happiest memorable event of the third week was the blossoming of a relationship between John Darius and Dale Manning, a white girl. Our first interracial couple caused considerable consternation at first among the white minority, especially Frank, who could still not accept or act on his feelings for Carmen, and Gil who himself had been courting Dale. But over several days' time John's and Dale's easy enjoyment of one another became the strongest reconciling force between blacks and whites. The white students did not enjoy their minority role in the program, but John was well-liked, and his caring for Dale seemed to soften the overall indifference and hostility the whites felt from the blacks.

The following weekend once again provided a catalytic event for the succeeding week. A full page story on the program appeared on the first page of the second section of the Sunday edition of the New Haven Register. We had known it was likely an article would appear, for a young reporter had spent a couple of days on campus during the preceding week.

When the reporter had first called about doing the story, I had been apprehensive about its effect. First, I had never seen a newspaper capable of grasping and imparting the essence and excitement of a constructive process. Nor should this be surprising, since construction involves integrating the formerly disparate overtime. No event at one moment in time, on which newspapers with their daily deadlines tend to focus, reflects this process. Consequently, newspapers tend to focus on destructive processes, which can occur in an instant.

My second fear about the article derived from the nature of our program. I realized that the collaborative, organic learning environment we were trying to create was foreign and threatening to most people. I feared that either the reporter or his readers might recognize only chaos in a depiction of the program and that we might suffer from the bad publicity. Finally, the New Haven Register had a considerable reputation for indifference and hostility to the black and the poor populations in town, so I feared serious distortions.

These fears were in large part allayed by the reporter himself, for he, miracle of miracles, understood them and agreed that they were real dangers. From that point, I knew that he would be guarding against them. As to the possibility of distortion, he said he could not be sure that the paper would run an article on this topic at all, but that it would not alter his article without his approval...

When someone brought me the article on Sunday morning and I read it, I was pleased by its liveliness and fairness. It was no whitewash of the program, presenting events and opinions by staff and students that could be read as negative, but it presented the positive as well, and even managed, I thought, to communicate simply the relatively unfamiliar philosophy of the program. If someone concluded on the basis of the article that the program was no good, I felt I could refer to the same article in an argument with them.

My fears quieted, I was unprepared for the storm that began to gather in the late afternoon as students and their parents began to return to the program. We had invited parents to return with their children each Sunday night for a program which included a movie and informal conversation between staff and parents.

Five parents became regulars at these occasions, but, after the first Sunday when we had gone to the camp, no more than ten parents altogether appeared on Sunday evenings. Until this Sunday. By seven o'clock twenty parents and as many students were locked in angry discussion with the staff in the common room. The topic: the article.

The white parents were upset to see in print that the program was two-thirds black. Moreover, friends were making them exceedingly uncomfortable by rushing over with the paper and asking in horrified tones, "Is this the program Gil is in?" Several felt they must withdraw their children immediately.

The black students were angered by what they considered to be racial slurs in the article. These included identifying one student as "Negro,' when the accompanying white student was not identified as white, and describing John Darius as a "husky youth", the term "husky" carrying connotations of plantation slavery.

All, whether black or white, parent or student, were also wounded deeply by two references to poverty--"a poverty program" and "poor families". Whereas I always preferred using the term "poor" to the terms "disadvantaged" or "deprived", which struck me as at once awkward, patronizing and euphemistic, these parents and students hated the term "poor". In this case too, a number of parents stated their intention of withdrawing their children because they didn't want them associating with "poor" children.

As in the case of the conversation unleashed by Weiss' appearance, the article seemed to ignite a deep anger in students. This time the conversation was further complicated by the presence of the parents, who were less volatile and emotionally straightforward than the students, and by the introduction of the possibility of taking direct action by marching on the newspaper plant about a dozen blocks away. Thus, the staff was essentially trying to carry on and reconcile three distinct conversations: one with relatively closed parents, initially determined to withdraw their children from the program; one with extremely volatile students whose language seemed likely to finish off the parents initially disturbed by the article; and one with students who had reached the point of controlling their anger into organized action, but not the point of choosing rational, effective action.

This time the conversation not only continued late into the night, but sustained itself for ten days. No parents withdrew their children; no students marched on the newspaper plant. Instead, our conversation evolved the strategy of inviting the reporter to the program to be confronted by students and parents about his first article and challenged to write another. Students were slow to buy this strategy because they were convinced the reporter would not respond (a) because he was clearly a villain, and (b) because they could not imagine constructively influencing an institution.

So, the telephone call to invite the reporter became a highly formal, tense occasion. Elaine was chosen by informal consensus to make the call because of her editorship of our weekly paper (ironically named "The Ghetto") and her acknowledged ability to speak well. About twenty persons, students and staff, crowded into the school office for Elaine's call. She had the genuine good fortune of actually finding him in at his office. She told him in a formal, polite voice that his article had evoked strong reactions in the program and that we would like to present these reactions to him. He apparently expressed surprise and concern, and accepted Elaine's invitation to a meeting the following Wednesday afternoon. This result elated the students, and they immediately set to work preparing for the occasion.

DIVERGING LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

In the meantime, the first days of the week were running along two diverging lines. The continuing conversation about the newspaper article probed, tested, and influenced students' self-concepts and sense of political realities. It turned out that for them the term "poor" carried all the negative connotations that it might for a wealthy, conservative, "self-made" man. It meant "irresponsibility," "slovenly," "messy," "uncaring." Students and parents, who continued to drop by in one's and two's throughout the week, would point out that they wore good clothes, owned a television set, owned a car, kept their apartment neat, fed their children well, worked nights... How could they be called poor? No amount of straightforward argument would make them accept "poor" as a descriptive term, meaning, by Congress' definition, "earning less than $3,000 a year for a family of four." When these conversations moved, they did so via the "detour" of examining the self-hatred implicit in students' and parents' acceptance of the negative connotations attached to "poor," and the socio-political culture in America that created these connotations in the first place. In other words, the conversations moved when someone present could make them directly educational in personal and social terms.

The other line of development was the more formal, academic program. One might have thought that the core topic that week "The City"—would easily have leant itself to examining the many facets of the existential situation created by the appearance of the newspaper article. And, in fact, to the extent that academics ever claimed the students' attention that week it was in relation to the article. One of the writing workshops organized a questionnaire to administer to all students to gain a more objective sense of student opinion about the article and to serve as a basis for the questions the panel would ask the reporter during the following week. This project was carried out efficiently and enthusiastically, the students unabashedly consulting staff members about how to spell words and phrase questions.

But, for the most part, the core class and workshops dragged terribly. I can attribute the lack of success of the core curriculum to several factors. First, Douglas, who had taken primary responsibility for the overall organization of this week, had scheduled speakers each morning to address all the students at once, to be followed by discussions in the core sections. The fact that we decided at Friday's meeting that my meetings with the whole student body were ineffective didn't influence his planning. So, many students slept through the first "lectures" and then ceased attending. Moreover, the lectures in no way connected to the on-going events of the program.

Second, the "physiological" factor once again interfered with the academic in that each day, after the lecture, one core section went to the health department for complete physical examinations. The physical examinations turned out to be of great value in themselves, but they continued into the workshop period and, as the week went on, took students from other core sections who had, for some reason, not gone on their assigned day. These effects destroyed our effort to create a stronger norm of regular attendance at the morning classes.

Third, the core teachers were caught by surprise by the commotion around the newspaper article and seemed unable to integrate this event with the curriculum. In a few cases, they turned their attention to the article, but in a way that distracted attention from the curriculum rather than enhancing it. This does not mean that such conversations were devoid of educational content. But they suffered from being identified as "bull sessions" rather than "learning" by the students. And this unchallenged polarization between "life" and "learning" leads the students not to seek and, in fact, to overlook the most important kinds of learning.

THE MOCK PANEL AND THE REAL ONE

I've forgotten who first conceived of the idea of a mock panel discussion as preparation for the real confrontation with the reporter. It may have been Rob Gilman. In any event, Rob met with about ten students one evening to discuss the upcoming event and, concerned that it become a more coherent occasion than the school's meeting with Weiss when there had been a similar intensity of feeling, he suggested that the students role-play the occasion.

Carmen became the reporter, five others became the panel, and the rest became the audience. Carmen answered the first questions at some length, cooly and collectedly. Now she was explaining to the panel that she had intended no slur by using the word "poor", that they would have to agree, wouldn't they, that in objective terms they were poor. Her coolness and ability to turn the questions back on her questioners began to infuriate the panel members and audience who had probably assumed that they would be able to flail away at the evil reporter without resistance.

Several of the students began to interrupt one another in efforts to speak. And they began to swear at "the reporter." In return, Carmen began to berate them in the same cool voice for interrupting one another. "You poor in the other sense too. Good kids don't interrupt and swear. Why, you all can't do civilized conversation!" She knew she'd hit upon a good tactic. For the next several minutes, as the exasperated panel members sought to regain the upper hand, she would simply reflect their unruly behavior back at them: "A person don't finish what he say 'fore you in'rupt him." "You don't even care for one another; you just fight among youself." "You questions ain't organized at all (the student poll had yet to be analyzed at this point). I planned my article."

Finally, Jimmy, whom we counted among the fifteen we had yet to reach, stepped out from the audience, turned toward the panel, and took over: "You not together a-tall. We got to play this straight. We needs a chairman for the panel, and don't no one talk less he nod to them. And the audience don't make a sound. We goin to have the old lady here, right? Now, how you goin to act? No one get in this room without he agree to keep quiet."

With that, Jimmy became chairman of the panel--surely one of the last persons in the program I would ever have imagined for the position--and word went around the campus that the only way we were going to get across to the reporter was by playing it cool.

Would the reporter really dare to show up? At 1:30 of a sweltering afternoon on Wednesday of the fifth week, the Pierson Common Room was jammed with sixty students, twenty staff, at least ten members of our advisory board and almost thirty parents. The panel, consisting of Jimmy, three other students, and Mal Helal, the tutor who had initiated the poll, were sitting carefully dressed, holding their list of questions, on straight chairs which formed a V with an easy chair reserved for the reporter. A noticeably subdued hum of conversation rippled across the room.

For the first time during the program lateness and non-attendance were no issue. The tension seemed all the higher to me for being so concentrated and so controlled. I began to fear that the reporter wouldn't show. I walked outside and immediately found him looking blankly around the courtyard, wondering where everyone was. It was no easier for him than for us to imagine the program quiet.

He and I had already talked over the phone during the preceding week, so he had some idea what he was walking into. He was actually very pleased by the opportunity to meet with us, for this had been his first major article on poverty-racial issues and he was interested in pursuing this line of work. He wished to represent the facts accurately and welcomes this chance to get the students' reactions. Had he been any less open, the ensuing event could easily have become a fiasco.

After I had welcomed everybody to this "important event which symbolizes so well what we mean by learning from experience" in the thirty seconds allotted to me by Jimmy, he took over and, in formal tones, explained the structure of the meeting. The panel was to question the reporter for about thirty minutes without interruptions from the audience, then the floor would be opened to questions from members of the audience recognized by Jimmy. With that, he launched into the first question, a long involved summation of evidence of racial slurs in the article, followed by "Do you agree that this is what you did?"

"I didn't *intend* to cast any racial slurs," replied the reporter agreeably, precipitating angry rustling and murmuring which was instantly stilled by a dozen "Shsh's."

"I didn't ask whether you intended racial slurs," returned Jimmy coldly and legally, "but whether you *committed* them."

"Well, I guess that depends who's speaking, doesn't it?" answered the reporter a little less comfortably. "They didn't sound like slurs to me (another angry hum, stopped by Jimmy's glance) but they evidently did to you."

Jimmy nodded to the next panel member, and the questioning proceeded for half an hour, and then another forty-five minutes from the audience, all in an atmosphere of tense, formal silence, threatening eruption at any minute. By the time I had overcome first my preoccupation that an outbreak of uncontrolled hostility would end the program forever and next my amazement at the unparallel self-control of these "short-attention-span, volatile" students, I realized that the tension had dropped. The reporter agreed he had made mistakes in the article and had not been aware of how his writing would affect his subjects; the students complimented him on his openness and friendliness; and all agreed that he should write another article about the program during the final week.

And so he did. During the seventh week he reappeared, this time to be swamped by students demanding interviews, showing him the most recent edition of "The Ghetto", inviting him to class, or taking him for a tour of our outdoor art gallery. His second article began on the front page of that Sunday's paper and offended no one. I must say that I also found it a bit flatter than the first--perhaps a little too calculatedly inoffensive--but please don't say I complained.

During the following year, I was interested to see that the reporter became the newspaper's main link to racial and poverty issues, his competence and commitment evidently influencing the paper to give more attention to such issues.

AND OTHER MEETINGS

Members of our advisory board had turned up at the meeting with the newspaper reporter because we had held a meeting of our advisors the day before. One or two had maintained regular contact with the program throughout the summer after their participation in our spring planning meetings. But we had not specifically invited them to the program. Andrew Wilson suggested to me that a meeting would help create understanding and support for the program within the Yale community. He felt this would be useful because most information about the program circulating Yale was negative in tone, coming from Weiss or the master of the neighboring college who intermittently complained about the amount of noise we generated late at night.

The meeting turned out to serve much more than merely a public relations function. We asked about half the staff and a number of students to join us for the lunch and early afternoon meeting, playing tapes of several meetings with students at the beginning of the program and more recently. We impressed ourselves with the change in the students that could be observed by listening to the tapes and hearing their live comments at the meeting. Now, in small groups, they seemed capable of addressing one another rather than merely shouting; also of listening to one another, developing a definite theme in conversation; and also of carrying out some cooperative activities (the advisors were shown the questionnaire and analysis prepared for the meeting with the reporter). The advisors were impressed by our work, which provided us with much-needed reinforcement, especially for those staff members who were least clear that we were accomplishing anything.

One advisor from the community action agency later returned to make a tape of student comments, the flavor of which he first picked up at the advisory meeting, about the kinds of organizational and interpersonal differences between this program and their high schools--differences which made them try to work with the system at Upward Bound but against the system at high school. This tape was used repeatedly at in-service teacher training sessions during the succeeding year, when two out of the three high schools erupted in riots.

The students themselves had, in turn, first become aware that their experiences constituted a coherent and persuasive critique of the school system just that Sunday evening. John Holt, who had been invited to visit the Yale Summer High School that weekend, turned up unexpectedly at the Pierson gate on Sunday evening. So we asked the students in the vicinity to join him for conversation in the Common Room. Typically, rather than talking to them about education, Holt tried to find out from them. I don't believe he did anything during the first two hours but ask questions which showed he had heard what they just said and wanted to probe their experience more deeply. Reversing the usual trend, more and more students joined the conversation as it proceeded. Although once again they were dealing with a topic that touched deep anger and pain, the students maintained a kind of detachment and humor about their stories that increased the power and precision of their analyses.

Holt, who had planned to drop by for twenty minutes, remained four hours. Whether it was primarily the supportive context that he provided, or a readiness by the students to enter another stage of relating to their feelings in public that caused the new tone to the conversation I don't know. Like the advisors two days later, Holt ended the evening impressed with the program, while we, in turn, ended impressed by him.

If the specific restructuring accomplished by the staff at the end of the third week had proven utterly ineffective by the end of the fourth week, the principle of restructuring nevertheless caught on. We dismantled the workshops and returned to the tutorial system. The intervening week had permitted us to determine more precisely which students felt related to which staff. Thus, the new tutorial relationships were not assigned arbitrarily as the initial ones had been at the beginning of the program; instead they were determined on the basis of existing relationships. As a result, although we had virtually lost a week, we ultimately reached about ten more students during the final three weeks of the program.

In another arena, the students themselves were initiating a new structure. At John Darius' initiative, the Discipline Committee underwent a painful week of self-examination. Three judgments emerged from this process. First, the Committee was frustrated by the number of disciplinary cases it continued to have to hear. It felt it was failing to help the school evolve a higher sense of community than cops and robbers and simultaneously failing to become a respected authority in itself. Second, Committee members acknowledged that they were learning more from participation on the Committee than anyone else. This acknowledgement was achieved with some difficulty, for its immediate corollary was that others should have the opportunity to serve on the committee too, in order to share in the experience. But members enjoyed their interaction and their feelings of prestige in belonging to the committee so they did not like the idea of being replaced. Third, the Committee increasingly found itself making new rules and taking creative rather than disciplinary actions. So, it really ought to have been named something like a "Governing Committee" rather than a "Discipline Committee."

These considerations suggested that a new committee, reconstituted as the Governing Committee, ought to be elected by the students for the second half of the program. However, several members of the committee felt that John was the key to whatever prestige and effectiveness the present committee had developed (the first clear evidence of direct positive support of one student by others that I can recall). They argued against restructuring. The argument consumed two whole evenings, one at the end of the fourth week, another at the beginning of the fifth week. The final decision was to restructure, based largely on John's argument that if the whole structure did depend on him alone, then it probably wasn't worth sustaining anyway. Led by him, almost every member of the committee had been forced to examine the relationship between his personal behavior and motives on the one hand, and the structure and welfare of the community as a whole, on the other hand.

The new Governing Committee, elected during the middle of the fifth week, never did accomplish anything memorable. With the program nearing an end, it had a lame-duck quality to it. It did, however, give another ten students the sense of grappling with power and responsibility.

DECISIONS DETERMINING THE PURPOSE OF THE SUMMER

During the sixth week, the formerly implicit issue of whether to emphasize social-therapy or academics became a central concern on the staff. First, we had to decide whether to throw out several of the white students who were hooked on glue, endangering themselves by such acts as walking out on the roof and falling from a window (luckily first story) into the moat, and not participating in the academic aspects of the program at all. Those in favor of stressing the academic quality of the program argued in favor of the suspension. Greg argued, to the contrary, that this summer was devoted to trying to develop a community together, with no pre-existing authoritative assumptions about the nature of that community. Moreover, he pointed out that a number of black students were equally guilty of using drugs against our rule. If we were going to use suspension as our way of enforcing our rule, he would have to recommend the dismissal of a number of black students. Since it was clear that such a harsh tactic would destroy the coherence of the program, the staff decided not to dismiss the white students.

(When the news of Greg's threat leaked out to the black students, several of his former friends assiduously avoided him for a few days. Then, noting his tendency to drink a cocktail some evenings off campus at a restaurant, they confronted him on his inconsistency. He advocated throwing them out for breaking the drug rule, yet he himself broke the rule against liquor. He reminded them that the rule prohibited liquor or drugs on campus for the good of our community, but said nothing about what students or staff did off-campus. The students in question took the hint, reducing the amount of drugs on campus during the last two weeks. They also readmitted Greg to friendship, presumably on the basis of his leadership in beating the system. I don't think they ever realized that his recommendation to dismiss them was also a ploy to beat another system, the conceptual-emotional system of some staff members.)

Then, around the middle of the week, some staff members suggested that we consider inviting back for the seventh week of the program only those students clearly interested in academic work. In this way, went the argument, we would not be expelling any students. Moreover, the non-academically inclined students would probably quite straightforwardly prefer not to take part in an intensive week of academics anyway. And we would thereby have the uninterrupted chance to serve the serious students.

The argument sounded inviting, and many of us bought it quickly. Only Sally Graham disagreed strongly, still using the counterargument that no one had the authority to divide the community during the first summer. To do so now, she maintained, would undo all the trust built during the program with the least academically inclined students: Such a decision would reassure them once again that they really were second-class citizens whose concerns we had pretended to take seriously only so long as we hoped we could convert them to our value system. Because she could not be persuaded that this idea permitted us to accelerate our timing and lay a foundation towards next summer's program and because a number of staff members were not present, we adjourned the Wednesday staff meeting and agreed to return to the discussion the following afternoon. In the meantime, Sally continued the debate and somehow helped many of us to change our minds.

Suddenly and surprisingly, the whole issue was decided easily the following afternoon in favor of not adopting the proposal. The usefulness of not simply outvoting a committed minority was thereby strongly confirmed.

These decisions against dismissing the glue sniffers and against restricting the program during the seventh week had an apparently negative consequence of bringing to a climax the conflict within the staff about how the program should be defined. After weeks of relative silence at staff meetings, Regina, followed by Tom, Susan, Gail and Douglas, expressed their indignation at the decisions during the staff meeting at the end of the sixth week. Soon the discussion shifted to their sense of having been excluded from staff decisions throughout the summer. A few staff members were viewed as having preponderant influence with me. Greg and Rob first and foremost, then Tim, David, Ray, and Luther. I agreed with this ranking of who had most influence, as well as with the observation that a split had developed within the staff. I wondered, however, to what extent this pattern represented a conspiracy against the minority point of view and to what extent the minority itself had helped to create it by passivity. Sally's different posture as a minority the two days before suggested strongly that a minority could potentially have influence within the program. The actual outcome of this open definition of conflicting factions was rather positive--a sense of reconciliation and reunion within the staff in preparation for the final week.

Once the final week got underway, we had more reason to be pleased with our decision not to split the program. A summer's worth of artistic work by the students, guided by Gail, made its appearance on the walls and porches of one corner of the college. In addition to the intrinsic talent and color it conveyed, it awakened the staff to one kind of productivity that had been going on all along unnoticed under our noses. It was an unexpected dividend. Moreover, Gail had seemed the least assertive, least visible, and therefore least valuable staff member throughout the summer. She, too, therefore, appeared as an unexpected dividend.

Our composition contest also stimulated an astounding splurge of writing by students during the first three days of the final week. They could be seen sitting around the campus bent over their work as never before. And they reworked their pieces three or four times with the help of the staff. The results ranged from fiction to political essay to philosophy to poetry, including the following comic summation of the summer by Henry Aston:

MY DREAM IN THE GRASS

While I was lying on the ground,
I think I heard Bill Torbert's sound;

Someone laughing at me like a fool,
Someone dropping on me something cool;

Someone rattling on a bush--
John Darius gave it a push;

The rustling of the trees
Gave its sound in the breeze;

Seth Phillips saying "Oh God!"
A symphony which is quite odd;

I hear someone walking through the grass:
It was a folk singer going to class;

I hear some birds;
Their melodies merge;

Something crawling on me—
I believe it was a bumble bee.

When I got up everything was different to me:
Where I dreamed before, now I could see.

On the final day, I busied myself with preparations for the evening ceremony to which we had invited all the parents. Were the certificates we had had printed ready? Were the students chosen to read at the ceremony practicing their pieces aloud? Would the refreshments appear at the right moment?

As the day progressed more and more students complained about "having" to attend the ceremony. I began to fear that our final act would be only too typical of the disorganization which had characterized us throughout the summer. Melinda, who had been asked to read her essay on Black Power, vociferously refused to take any part in the ceremony. Repeatedly throughout the day she charged up to me, for one hour attacking on a bike she had picked up somewhere, exclaiming triumphantly that she would not under any circumstances read her essay. The occasion was a sham, she shouted, just as the summer had been. Then, half an hour before the event was to begin, I found myself tackled from behind, Melinda once again screaming, this time maintaining that I had no right to discriminate against her and prevent her from reading.

By twenty past eight, the Common Room was crammed with students and parents, all, to my utter surprise, dressed in their best clothes, just as they had been on the first afternoon. Melinda, Henry Aston, and six other students read their work to thunderous applause; awards in writing and art were made; and each student received a certificate to further applause.

The college emptied.

Saturday morning the staff gathered for a final relaxed argument about whether the primary purpose of the program had been therapeutic or academic.

FINIS

IX DEVELOPING A COMMUNAL SENSE OF IDENTITY

The end of the summer session ushered in a far more reflective phase of the program. I dragged myself onto a plane to meet my mother at a small country farmhouse she had recently bought in Italy and spent up to eighteen hours a day for the next three weeks sleeping. During my absence New Haven was erupting in riots, setting the tone for a bitter year of disruptions in the city's high schools and of assassinations in the nation's political arenas. It was as though we at Upward Bound were being offered a chance to compare the results of our way of operating against the results of the "usual" way of operating in our country.

Our way seemed to involve high psychic costs as we proceeded, testing persons in often extreme ways, but then seemed to result in good feeling and, as we learned later, significant positive outward changes in our students. At the end of the next school year three-quarters of our students had improved their grades (directly contrary to the ordinary trend for such students), and only two had dropped out of school. New Haven's drop-out rate for tenth graders was cut in half from the year before--from 140 to 70--and I can think of no other factor besides Upward Bound that might be responsible for a large proportion of the change.

The "usual" way of operating in our country seemed to minimize immediate testing of persons as well as minimal effort to recognize and transcend personal limits, but then seemed to result in violent contradictions over the long-run. I began to think of our way as a pay-as-you-go plan, as opposed to the dominant American buy-now-pay-later philosophy.

Of course, at the end of the first summer these long-term results of "our way" had not yet occurred. Consequently, the benefits and even the definition of "our way" were still unclear to us. As fall, winter, spring, and a second summer succeeded one another, the violent mood in New Haven and the country seemed to represent the ultimate test of "our way" more often than a clear contrast. For, as later chapters will show, this violent mood very much affected the atmosphere of the program during the second spring and summer.

I have been surrounding the phrase "our way" with quotation marks because the most obvious yet confusing characteristics of "our way" were precisely the uncertainties surrounding the terms "our" and "way".

During my three weeks in Italy, I would occasionally turn to some efforts by staff members to define and evaluate "our way". I had asked them to describe, among other things, what principles, if any, they perceived as, in practice, guiding the program, and what degree of contradition they experienced among the principles. Parts of some of their answers follow:

> Ray: ... I see this school operating on principles that the students can understand. They can see that the rules are made for them and not some other group of people. I think that it would be fatal to the program if principles were imposed upon students without the students understanding them...

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> Regina:...We have been, in principle, attempting to prepare the students for re-entering the school system, but at the same time we have been, in principle, bucking the system we have been preparing them for...

****

David: ...I perceive the program as operating under a general principle of self-discovery...A key question which has never been answered this summer involves the conflict between freedom of the individual and his infringement of the freedom of others. Not in any sense when is a student receiving more freedom than he deserves---I do not believe an individual can become responsibly free through the punitive denial of freedom---but simply, when is a student receiving more freedom than we can afford to give...

****

Bert Wilkerson: ...I think our main principles have been, in order of priority in practice:

voluntarism for the students
supportiveness
creation of a community (running a poor third)
learning

I would note that this list is exactly the reverse of the priorities expected by the students, at least initially.

Voluntarism allows individuals to disrupt the community. While our community institutions, primarily the Discipline and Governing Committees, were valuable, I don't think they ever succeeded in creating the sense of community that in itself inhibits disruption.

Unfortunately, supportiveness and voluntarism conflict with learning, for the latter requires disciplined work.... Our assumption that support for seven weeks was a prerequisite to real learning based on self-motivation was, I think, correct, and, if it is correct, then support was the more important principle.

Although I did not feel that any of these ways of thinking about the program was categorically right or wrong, it was interesting to ask myself what were the consequences of each way of thinking about it. For example, tension and contradiction seem more pronounced in Regina's and Bert's thinking than in Ray's and David's. Why so? If we compare Ray's and Regina's comments, we see that Ray treats the program as an end in itself without reference to the outside world, whereas Regina interprets the program as fundamentally a means to another end. Comparing David and Bert's comments, we see that David develops a single principle as central to the program, whereas Bert counterposes four different principles to one another. Can we hypothesize from these examples that the intellectual work by each organization member of formulating a single aim which interpenetrates an organization's activities, giving them meaning in relation to one another rather than simply as means to some external end, will reduce tension and contradiction for the organization member?

Let us look further at differences among these evaluations. Of the four, Regina's is the only one which proposes a direct self-contradition within the program between ends and means. Ray's does not describe any existing conflict, only a potential one. David and Bert describe ironies, ambiguities, and problems, but not in the form of utterly hostile contradictions. Regina's evaluation also differs from the other three in not describing with any specifity the character of community development within the program. Can we hypothesize from this correlation that there is an inverse relationship between a sense of contradiction in an organization's activity and a sense of developing community? We can reason that persons without the sense of developing community would tend to be less aware of a possible complex, internal, developmental logic confirming the organization's responsiveness to the outside world despite its apparent contradiction of it. Just such a logic is in fact enunciated by Bert when he speaks of support as a prerequisite to real learning. Thus, a process contradictory to that of the school system may nevertheless help students to learn in school. We see, too, that Bert's developmental sense, relating support to learning over time, helps him to reconcile the contradiction he originally generated between "support" and "learning" by his narrow definition of "learning".

Thus, it appears from analysis of these evaluations that apparent contradictions, and the stress, frustration and conflict which accompany any perceived contradictions, will diminish, and a sense of coherent organization will increase, as a person formulates a single embracing aim for his organization's activities and as he senses the dialectic between concrete, particular experiences and abstract, general reflections which is generating a sense of shared aim and, thus, of community. I do not wish to deny that our program may have suffered actual contradictions, but rather to emphasize the extent to which a person's conception about and investment in what is happening influences his experience of contradiction and stress within that activity. In fact, I might plausibly continue this argument by suggesting that actual contradictions can derive from perceived (or conceived or felt) contradictions.

A FLASH-FORWARD

I was once again reminded of the subtle relationship between actual and perceived contradictions during the winter when the core staff did some research on itself. All seven members, including myself, answered the question, "What do you perceive as Bill's aims as leader of this group and program?" My answer was shortest and simplest: "To increase self-directed learning in myself and the other members."

No one else's answer contradicted mine, but the other answers either touched on only one side of my answer, or else presented several sides without integrating them. For example, Grace saw my aim as purely self-oriented:

"To see if he can use in a real situation the things he has learned." Patricia saw me as other-directed: "Altruistic, highly principled to improve life for people." Rob Gilman saw me as balancing (not always appropriately) several aims: "To fulfill his responsibilities to the staff and students; to try out some techniques for dealing with interpersonal issues; to research the organizational behavior of a school."

In all, Grace focused on the personal side of my aim, Patricia, Valery, and Ray focused on the other-directed side, and Rob and Tim Weston on several sides. And this division among the one, the three, and the two replicated itself in other terms. Grace participated on the core staff as a volunteer mainly on the basis of a personal attachment to me; the three who focused on the other-directed aspect of my aim were the most distant of the six from me, and the least familiar with the idea of "self-directed learning"; while Rob and Tim, who focused on several sides, took the deepest theoretical interest in the program. Moreover, the three who focused on the other-directed aspect of my aim also seemed to share a common concern about whether this aim was congruent with the overall purpose of the program. That is, they did not directly link my aim, as they perceived it, to learning, as they perceived learning. On the other hand, Rob and Tim, having focused on several sides, expressed most concern about whether different sides contradicted one another.

I doubt that my behavior could have been too grossly one-sided or self-contradictory, since the different members perceive several different sides and only one stressed contradiction. But my behavior may have been less well-integrated than my statement of aim. If so, my intellectual capacity to integrate may have blinded me to the unintegrated quality of my behavior. On the other hand, part or all of the apparent contradictions could result from a lack of intellectual integration on Rob's and Tim's parts. If so, they could waste energy trying to resolve what they perceive as contradictions outside themselves, while overlooking the need for continued development of their own capacity to discover abstract themes integrating concrete activities.

In the absence of shared abstractions to interrelate different events and roles, a person or program can achieve a sense of identity only by repeating the same behavior over and over again. In this case, a sense of identity is gained at the cost of becoming less responsive to the outer world and, thus, ultimately less capable of adapting to and surviving in the world. The core staff research undertaken during the winter was intended to help us consolidate an identity-by-abstraction rather than fall into an identity-by-repetition.

MY OWN EVALUATION OF MYSELF

But the reference to the core staff research has taken us ahead of the story. The process and results of this research will re-emerge in later pages. Now though, I will return to the evaluations at the end of the summer session and, in particular, to my evaluation of myself. I wrote:

> I am going to begin taking more initiatives to structure the environment now that I have gained more confidence in certain principles and we have some common experience to refer to. The past summer was as total an experiment as most of us have ever experienced or even heard of. No doubt my inexperience made it more disorganized than "necessary"; in any event, I feel as though I have become clearer about the direction we must

> follow. As a result, I believe I will be able to distinguish between decisions which I wish to reach collaboratively between staff and students and decisions which threaten the framework of collaborative decision-making and which I will not tolerate except in matters of routine or emergency.
>
> I have been helped to see another difficulty we had together as a staff this summer; although I in some formal sense encouraged all of you to discuss problems you experienced about the school with me, both my personal bearing and leadership style in some cases precluded the kind of friendship which actually makes such discussion and support possible. That is, I was more concentrated than relaxed and more busy than available in relation to the staff. As a result, friendships and personal loyalties sometimes had to be expressed off the job rather than within the job. Maybe our experience this summer and the fact that our students are already with us can help us to plan more relaxing, meeting and thinking time for next summer, and maybe my awareness can work on my personal style.

In the context of my analysis of the other evaluations in the previous pages, I can now see that my first paragraph suggests a "sense of developing community" on my part. The experience of the summer had not changed my fundamental ideas, but rather in the very process of confirming them, had provided me with enough confidence to stand more firmly on them. Or, to put this another way, my sense of "collaboration" had matured from trying to make every decision in common to differentiating between decisions which ought to be made in common because they broke new ground and those which I would take responsibility for making individually because they supported already chosen directions.

As I looked back on the summer, I saw it as a period when the most fundamental principles and commitments of the program were being hashed out in practice. No single decision had sustained itself for long during the summer because there was no agreement as to the fundamental aim of the program.

But, through the summer, I felt we had attained a common sense of aim. Some persons had worked the issue through in their heads and could now articulate a subtle understanding of the paradoxes of self-directed learning. Others had lived through the experience deriving a sense of self-enhancement and a new dedication to learning, but without necessarily being able to articulate this quality. Still others had seen enough to persuade them that the direction of the program was not for them (Douglas was one of these). In short, the program, however confusing it appeared from day-to-day, nevertheless developed a very definite and powerful identity for persons connected to it.

Ironically, it was just this sense of developing community which was hardest to articulate and indeed remained least articulated. The reader will recall that none of the four evaluations by the staff members treat the problem of community in a developmental, historical sense. Bert treats the issue of learning in this dialectical fashion, but none of them mentions the early stage of development of the community as a whole as responsible for the problems they cite concerning the balance of freedom and order. For example, whereas Bert sees the creation of community running "a poor third" among our list of priorities, one wonders whether this appearance may not rather result from the greater visibility of chaotic voluntarism (if it is not suppressed) while a community generates a common sense of purpose. Later, the quality of community among persons with a shared aim might become more tangible to an outside observer than the quality of voluntarism, even though the members of the community might experience their capacity for voluntarism as having been enhanced rather than diminished in the course of developing shared purpose.

I have suggested that two factors which increase one's sense of belonging to a coherent organization are (1) the formulation of a single aim embracing the organization's activities, and (2) the recognition of a historical process developing community. Nor do the two factors seem to be independent. Neither alone seems capable of generating coherence strong enough to commit oneself to. In my case, certainly, only the confluence of the two factors through my thinking and through my experiences of the first summer at Upward Bound seems to have given me a sense of coherent organization.

REFLECTIONS AT A STAFF WEEKEND

A weekend meeting of the full summer staff later during the fall, to reassess the previous summer and member's continuing relationship to the school, provided an example of the inability of one of the two factors alone to sustain in a person a sense of coherent organization. The resident tutors, who during the summer had made the kind of investment necessary to feel themselves part of a developing community, now felt disconnected from the program because their role no longer automatically threw them into action each day. They had little sense of the invisible developmental logic and aim to draw them forwards even without the support of a visible community and definite roles. The physical dispersion of the community had dispersed their commitment as well.

That the tutors had avoided the work of developing an abstract sense of the developmental logic and aim of the program is not merely a supposition of mine. They said a number of things during the weekend which led me to this diagnosis. They reported that during the summer their jobs had made so many immediate demands on them that they rearely paid attention to administrative directives, to staff decisions, or to any theoretical discussions. As Sally Graham put it: "We couldn't listen to you this summer because we had to define our own positions, and you were asking us to take responsibility for the whole." Or, to quote Gene Renfroe: "Our role was to be in with the kids. That's how we measured success. So, if we were in, that was all that mattered. It didn't matter what the staff said." (Ironically, these two were among the most willing to think abstractly during the summer.)

During the winter some of the staff members of the previous summer took the initiative to define new roles for themselves, but most did not. Of course, some staff members simply had too many other commitments to devote continued, voluntary attention to the program. I can't believe that this can be the whole explanation, however, since the very best staff members who had plenty of other demands on them, were the ones who evidently had enough sense of the aim of the program to be able to fashion a new role for themselves in the new circumstances. Ray Flowers arranged to assist the program part-time on Work-Study wages funneled through his college, helping particularly in the recruitment of new staff members. Tim Weston worked with the core staff virtually full time for a trivial sum of money (all we had to spare) while going to night school. David pursued his strong interest in educational philosophy and strategy by joining us on occasions such as the National Meeting of Upward Bound Directors in Washington, D.C., paying his own way. Sally Graham maintained her personal contact with a number of students and participated regularly in our meetings with the students every other Saturday morning.

THE WINTER WORK OF THE CORE STAFF

In the meantime, the core staff began defining, arranging, exploring, and rearranging its work for the year. Initially, the core staff consisted of Rob and Valery working full time and Patricia Stuart and me working part time. Eventually, Tim and Ray added themselves, as did Grace Porter, who volunteered to help in the office.

If organizing had been difficult during the summer when we were all within shouting distance of one another, it sometimes became agonizing during the winter. We tried to initiate a number of projects that never got off the ground. A study hall at the office with staff member ready to assist drew five students for about a week and then trickled into oblivion. Tutors were recruited from Yale to work with individual students, but, despite two training sessions, their inability to generate personal relationships with the students and missed appointments on both sides led that venture too to trickle down to a mere three or four stable relationships. Another venture which started on a rather large scale, but achieved success only on a very small scale was to train our own students to tutor elementary school children for pay. In theory the pay and prestigious role were attractive but in practice missed appointments on all sides terminated all but two relationships, if my memory serves me.

I tried to meet with a group of our students at each of the three New Haven high schools once a week, but the schools' schedules were so often influenced by unforeseen events that the agreed-upon periods were often unavailable for one reason or another. After a few exciting and enjoyable conversations, during which we role-played various common school situations which bothered the students, these meetings foundered. Still another frustrated effort was our attempt to find and remodel and Upward Bound Center. Our office, on the third floor of a Yale office building, was neither inviting nor close to any of the neighborhoods in which the students lived. Moreover, we thought that remodeling some building condemned by the urban redevelopment program would create a center of gravity for the program. But each inquiry led us into a blind alley after laborious bureaucratic water-treading.

Not every initiative ended so negatively. Rob, Valery, and eventually Tim divided the three New Haven schools among them and visited them regularly--sometimes every day of the week. They developed positive relationships with the faculty and administration, enabling them to help our students and their friends through innumerable bureaucratic hassles. Tim negotiated for a Black History course at the school he visited. And both he and Rob helped avert greater violence during riots at their respective schools later in the year by virtue of their close personal relationships to both students and faculty when the two camps were otherwise polarized.

With Rob as his consultant, Carlo Tithers developed his own tutoring program in which he and four friends tutored one another and alternately discussed their life hopes throughout the year. Rob also organized a weekly meeting among five sets of white parents (among them Hank Chase's mother and her boyfriend) to discuss their ways of dealing with their children. Although this conversation subsided after a couple of months, it was so fruitful during its existence in terms of improving family relations that it felt like a success to all of us.

PLANNING WITH THE STUDENTS

Our meetings every other Saturday morning drew an average of twenty students each meeting. As one would expect, there were about ten regulars and about ten students who never showed up. Although the focus of these meetings varied from conversing with the National Director of Upward Bound,. who visited us, to planning a New Year's Eve party, the primary recurrent topic was the upcoming summer. The students present at the meetings participated in, and often initiated, all major decisions from the type of location we should seek to the kind of disciplinary structure we should create.

These decisions were qualitatively different from those of the previous summer. On the one hand, they grew from the context of our previous experience together, and, on the other hand, they committed us for the future summer. By contrast, the decisions of the first summer had been very present-oriented, deriving from no past common experience and reversable the next day.

The staff role became qualitatively different, too. It changed from a primary emphasis on clarifying students' feelings and bringing them into confrontation with one another or ourselves to a primary emphasis on directly confronting and supporting students with regard to their own intentions in order to bring coherence to their behavior over time. This change was visible at our Saturday meetings. The students themselves developed and then rejected various alternatives, as in the case of types of location we might seek for the following summer. When the preponderance of opinion favored locating outside New Haven, but several girls still objected because it would take them too far from other people they knew, the students themselves helped the girls explore how much weight they ought to place on those feelings, and, without condemning them and exerting pressure on them to conform, led them to join in a unanimous agreement to locate outside New Haven (all this in a group of thirty persons!). Interestingly enough, the pragmatic argument of avoiding distractions carried less weight in the final analysis than the philosophical argument that trying unfamiliar things is central to a commitment to learn. The staff took an active role only at the following meeting when students at first did not recognize or acknowledge this decision as their own. (I believe this lack of acknowledgement resulted from several factors: [1] students who had not been present to participate in the decision; [2] incomplete internalization of the logic which had led them to a decision which few of them would have made on the spur of the moment; [3] continued difficulty in believing that they could be the authors of announced decisions.) Rather than permitting our previous agreement to dissolve in confusion and rather than simply insisting on the agreement, the staff renegotiated the logic of the argument for locating outside New Haven by asking students who had been present to reconstruct it. In fifteen minutes unanimous acknowledgement and agreement had once again been achieved.

The same pattern recurred later in the spring when students carefully and painfully decided that the staff should have full control of discipline for the second summer. This decision was linked with another decision to make the program more academic and more disciplined in general, so that students could concentrate sufficiently to really improve their basic skills. The arguments for staff control of discipline were (1) students wanted to focus less of their energy on just keeping the program going and (2) they predicted that the staff would sometimes need to be 'tougher' on them than the previous summer to get then to do what they themselves ultimately knew was good for them. Needless to say, the second argument was both extremely subtle and extremely trusting. The two students who voiced it most directly, with assent from the rest, were saying in effect that they would not always be as reasonable as at present and that at such times they wished to trust the staff more than themselves, even though at the time of confrontation they might deny it. They even role-played the kind of response they hoped to get from the staff: "When I shout at you'You betrayin my freedom' you got to say to me 'You betrayin youself'." At the next meeting, the students were scandalized to hear that, as they put it, 'someone' had decided that the staff should have full control of discipline for the second summer. Again a retracting of the argument, this time in small groups of five to give more members a chance to participate actively and thereby to increase the likelihood of their commitment to and memory of the decision, resulted in a reaffirmation of the decision.

Individual students and our community as a whole seemed to be entering a new phase in which definite goals could be set on the basis of a trustworthy common history. But it was a threatening phase for the students because it required of them a clear commitment to an alien enterprise--book-learning--at which they had experienced little but failure. Moreover, they had little but their own intentions and our presence to support them. Their school experience, their own behavior patterns, and their friends--in some cases even their friends in Upward Bound who were less regular participants at our meetings--still tended to deter them from so overt and so dangerous a commitment. In this atmosphere, firmer behavior was called for on the part of the staff. Its job now became more to maintain and strengthen the program's aim and coherence than to explore for them. Increased staff control, then, grew from a series of collaborative decisions which increased the definition of what was right for this group of people in this place at this time. Thus, the new phase was a subtle expression, rather than a blatant repudiation, of our collaborative form of working together.

OTHERS' VIEWS OF UPWARD BOUND

The new phase of increased self-definition of our community could be felt in other ways too. Our actions in relation to external institutions and their images of us became much more definite. Whereas informal gossip among the high school faculties in New Haven the previous spring and during the summer tended to derogate and ridicule Upward Bound, dwelling on the sexual orgies undoubtedly occurring at the program or on its imminent collapse, during the fall, and especially after the winter riots at two of the schools, an at least grudging respect developed for Upward Bound's unique ability to work with the very students whom the schools had earlier found impossible to relate to. Members of the core staff were invited to participate at in-service teacher training seminars, and a number of the students who were viewed as trouble-makers were eagerly recommended to us for the following summer. Our students themselves were responsible for much of the change in attitude among high school staffs towards Upward Bound. First, they were present at school more often. Second, their presence no longer automatically led to disruption. Third, they actually took initiatives to meet the teachers' demands. (Some role-playing episodes at the end of the summer had persuaded a number of the students that developing personal relations with their teachers could be beneficial-- whether from the cynical perspective of buttering them up or the more sincere perspective of breaking mutual stereotypes and improving communication).

I have already alluded in passing to the National Meeting of Upward Bound Directors held in Washington, D.C., during October. This became another occasion for feeling and communicating the strength of our uniqueness as a program. We were shocked by the opening speech of Tom Billings, the National Director, in which he indicated that experience had proven "unstructured" programs to be less helpful than "structured" ones to the kinds of students Upward Bound dealt with. He also advised admitting only students who could be prepared for college in two years, so that we could improve the percentage of students going on to college, which he regarded as the program's central goal. And he warned against "naive political activity" by local staff members which might lead to embarrassing Congressional questions. During the ensuing question period, Billings first retreated into vagueness, then in the face of a direct question acknowledged that a definite policy shift had occurred towards a more conservative position in order to make the program more saleable to Congress and "the little man in Kansas".

CONFRONTATION BETWEEN VALUE SYSTEMS

His entire position so contradicted our own experience of the past summer, our ideals for the program, and our impressions of what kinds of programs were most successful (admittedly based on a small sample of about ten), that Rob and I and Jack Door of the Yale Summer High School spent most of the afternoon writing a response which we duplicated and passed out to all directors the following morning. After reviewing Billings' points and noting that his articulation of Upward Bound's aim was "uninspiring to us and would be to our students," we wrote:

> We sensed the implication that political realities demand that O.E.O. sell Upward Bound on the basis of its success in meeting conventional public standards, such as percentage of students accepted to colleges. Only such a strategy can achieve political safety for Upward Bound. This position striked us as internally consistent, but as true only within an emasculated definition of political reality. The political reality which characterizes a healthy democracy and towards which we educators are especially bound to strive is public self-education, not public relations, not selling. The criterion of success cannot be to meet conventional public standards, but must be to transform them. In this political reality a program's liveliness is judged not by its safety, but by its willingness to take risks.
>
> The war on poverty does not make sense to us except in relation to this educational view of political reality. We feel (and believe we are supported by data, theories, and events) that poverty must not and cannot be eradicated by selling our society to the poor and manipulating them to fit it. If we practice this kind of politics, we are indeed, as someone has suggested, waging war on the poor. Instead, we must question the way we structure our society and the organizations within our society because these structures and the assumptions we make when operating through them are now primarily responsible for poverty . . . Upward Bound hardly seems worthwhile if it serves merely to push some of its students into college ahead of Kevin, the C student, who could have made it too had he been helped.

We went on to assert that universities were likely to be less responsive to the new Upward Bound policy because we believed that their commitment lay in the direction of social and educational experimentation--the purpose of a university being to discover, consolidate, and communicate new knowledge. We continued:

> ...It is an inadequate conception of our task to believe that pre-structuring the relation of students to our staffs and their programs will successfully move students up a social ladder to middle class success. The function of our programs is precisely to develop appropriate structures through interpersonal relationships. A successful structure is one which provides a student with enough trust in himself to seek independence and enough trust in his teacher to seek interdependence. Such a structure is liberating for our students, but the very freedom it promotes will encompass the possibility that the liberated student chooses his own goals, and these may not include college...

Our response jolted some and was immediately attractive to others at the meeting. The conflict between Billings' position and ours keynoted conversations for the remainder of the weekend. On the evening of its appearance about thirty people gathered to discuss its implications. It turned out that a number of national staff members based in Washington had also opposed the policy shift, but had never articulated their position as forcefully as we had. We later learned that our response became a symbolic reference point in national staff conversations that year. Billings himself joined the conversation the following day, and it became evident that if we had not succeeded in reversing the policy we had at least impressed enough persons by the clarity of our position and the degree of our commitment to assure us the leeway to plan our program as we wished. Billings made a special visit to New Haven later in the fall, engaging us in long, personal explorations of the philosophy of Upward Bound. I came to respect him highly for his willingness to engage in dialogue and, at the same time, to fear whatever events had, over the years, served to split his private ideals from his sense of the politically possible.

Only much later did I learn an ironic postscript to this incident. According to one of the national consultants to Upward Bound, the real reason for the shift in policy was not that "unstructured" programs did not work, but rather that, although in a few cases they were among the most successful of the programs, the national staff feared that the local staffs of most of the programs did not have the competence to pursue this path. Thus, they wished to discourage any widespread trend towards our type of program. This point of view seems very reasonable to me, and dealing with it at the National Meeting would have been exceedingly educational for most staffs, I think. Yet, the national staff apparently assumed that to raise it directly would be too confronting and derogatory. Thus, it is not surprising that the national staff was unwilling to confront Congressional standards of success, since it was not willing to confront its own colleague-subordinates.

AND FURTHER CONFRONTATION

Another ironic sequel to this incident developed during the following spring. Suddenly I found myself in the surprising position of making the same argument about educational innovation to Yale that I had expected it to offer to Upward Bound. In retrospect, it escapes me why I should have thought that a university necessarily approximate its ideals any more closely than a governmental agency.

During the spring both we at Upward Bound and our friends at the Yale Summer High School had to spend considerable energy searching for additional funding (we because 20% of our funding had to come from non-federal sources, they because only a small part of the program was federally funded). At some point we began to hear rumors that Yale was about to receive a gift of $100,000 for a socially relevant educational program. Then we heard rumors that President Brewster had asked a member of his administration not noted for any experimental attitude towards education to begin organizing still another new program to use the money. Wondering why a new program was to be set up at such a late date by a person not known for innovative ideas, when both our programs had already shown their willingness to innovate, to evaluate the results, and to spend a whole year planning for continued innovation, and when both our programs still needed funding, we tried to determine whether the rumors had substance. Early inquiries resulted in administrative denials that anything special was afoot.

Then, the directors of various education-related programs on campus received an invitation to a meeting with President Brewster and some other administrators. At the meeting it was announced that $100,000 was to be given to Yale specifically for a new program directed towards preparing New Haven black students for entrance to Yale, if we could show evidence of our capacity to organize such a program within the next month. Given the shortage of time, it was hoped that the other project directors would help the man appointed to head the new program (the rumor had been correct about whom it was to be) with the various necessary contracts, as well as with constructive criticism about his plans for the program.

We asked why we had not been informed of this new project earlier, whether the administration was definitely committed to the new project, and how the idea for the new project had developed. The answers were exceedingly fuzzy and mutually contradictory. No, the administration was not definitely committed; we were to be part of the decision-making process. But yes, due to limited time we should either do this project or none at all. Yes, the specific idea had been proposed to the donor by Yale, but no, the donor could not be influenced to use the money in any other way. We had not been informed only because the project was so new, but on the other hand, they had wanted to wait to inform us until the new director could determine whether it was feasible.

Our questions put the administrators on the defensive, and they rushed on to the presentation of substantive plans for the program. In response to this presentation, we asked more basic questions. How would the program contribute to Yale's purpose as a university, or would it just drain our resources further? (We had already found difficulty attracting competent Yale faculty to our program.) Wouldn't a program for blacks to enter Yale create an unbearably invidious comparison for those blacks in Upward Bound who would almost certainly not attend Yale? Would it not make Upward Bound appear to be a second-class program at Yale? What was the educational philosophy of the program? Weren't Yale's resources already strained in supporting educational programs? Where would the money come from after the first year? The head of the Yale Summer High School had been promised considerable help in finding funding, but had in fact received little help. Would not the New Haven community become further alienated from Yale if we sponsored a program for only a short time period? Would the program be planned collaboratively with the community? So far it did not appear so, yet Yale was just in the process, in the wake of Martin Luther King's assassination, of expressing its commitment to collaborate with the community on decisions that directly affected the community.

These questions, too, evoked vague, defensive responses. We were assured that the various programs would be "coordinated" with one another and with the community. The administrators began to question us, implying that we were showing disloyalty by our negativity to the program as a whole.

Two members of the New Haven Board of Education made comments which sounded quite negative about the program to me, but I now doubted whether the Administration was willing to hear such negative feedback, so I asked President Brewster what he thought these two people had said. He looked uncomfortable, then asked me what I thought they said. I replied that I didn't know whether to trust his perceptions, so, as a way of checking, I would prefer to have him say what he heard and then check with the speakers to see whether they felt he had heard them correctly. I'm not sure whether he understood me or not. In any event, rather than sharing his perception of what had been said, he next asked the most recent of the two speakers (who was a senior) what he had said. The speaker, now tensed by the confrontation, retreated into blandness and vagueness, qualifying his first comment to the point of meaninglessness. Afraid that perhaps I had misheard his original comment, frustrated that the interaction had become so complicated by now that further checking and analysis would only generate more confusion, and probably also scared of confronting the president too strongly and offending his dignity, I did not pursue this stand. (After the meeting the junior Board of Education member berated the senior member for becoming a marshmallow, and he admitted that he had changed the meaning of his statement to sound less negative.)

We were asked after the meeting to write down our reactions to the program if we wished. A number of the project directors wrote strong negative statements. My own focused on themes raised during the meeting, rather than on substantive facts. I wrote:

Yale does have limited resources; Therefore this program will be done instead of something else.

It cannot even be argued that a chunk of money has been given solely for this, since the donor was led to this idea by someone who could lead him to another idea if this someone were convinced of it.

Adding a new program in no way leads to more collaboration within the university on educational matters, since it in no way advances a unifying sense of purpose, in itself does not emphasize the collaborative (as opposed to the all-too-pervasive disintegrative) possibilities in the institutional framework of the university, and does not enhance the collaborative abilities of the participants.

To view collaboration as "coordination" and to see such acceptance of interdependence as an imposition on individual freedom is one side of the coin, the other side of which involves a tacit commitment to piecemeal, unintegrated programming--responding to immediate pressures rather than raising fundamental questions about aims and effects.

"Co-ordination" also distorts the idea of collaboration in other ways (that struck me at today's meeting and afterwards: "loyal", "lively", members are expected to give hearty approval along with possible tactical caveats, but not to disagree on strategy issues; "consultation" is aimed at gaining consensus on a decision already made (although it is not announced as such).

The possibility of collaboration is of course central to all forms of truly experimental education—that is, to education founded on the belief in, or better the experience of, experimentation as a primary human motive.

Most criticisms of contemporary schools focus on their systematic (because systemic) distortion and destruction of children's sense of experimentation, yet most compensatory education programs essentially repeat the coercive, conformity-producing structures rather than in any way curing them (which is not to deny that Yale's forms of coercion can be far more pleasant and genteel than schools').

The expanding riots make it clear that, socially, we will not gain true peace until the top truly recognizes the bottom--until authority becomes fully transactional. Now top and bottom, elites and masses, rich and poor, white and black, do not speak the same languages, and it is not clear to me who should, or can, teach whom. It is clear, however, that there is a lot to learn.

9. These last comments are intended to raise serious questions for any school that can choose its destiny today. It is incredibly difficult to assume the posture of a learner in a society which rewards right answers rather than meaningful questions--especially if one is an administrator charged with the responsibility for doing something right. Nevertheless, I cannot conceive how a program which does *not* in some way test this direction of collaborative questioning could be in any way helpful.

For several weeks, our relations with the central administration remained strained and formal. Then we heard that a decision had been made not to pursue the new program. By that time, of course, it was too late to persuade the donor to give his money in another way. But it is not clear that the Yale administration would have wished to persuade the donor anyway. Although President Brewster repeatedly complimented the Yale Summer High School and Yale Upward Bound programs in his talks to alumni, it was not clear to us that he had any genuine understanding of, or commitment to, the collaborative principles which, each in our own ways, we were attempting to explore.* In fact, if anything, the process of decision-making around the proposed new program indicated just the reverse.

In these varied ways--through staff reflections, meetings with the students, and contrasts to practices in the public schools, at National Upward Bound, and at Yale--our communal sense of identity gradually coagulated.

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*My negative reaction to Brewster in this encounter and in regard to this critical educational issue does not prevent me from regarding him as the best college president whose work I'm familiar with.

X. THE CORE STAFF PREPARES ITSELF

During the fall, each member of the core staff worked largely on his own. We would meet once or twice a week to plan, coordinate, and discuss particular students, but other than that each member structured his own time. Valery and Grace could be found at the office more often than the others, working on the books or talking to a student. Tim could be counted on to be at the high school to which he served as our liaison in the mornings and often visited members of the downtown school bureaucracy in the afternoon, exploring potential curricular or structural innovations. Rob was more likely asleep during the morning, grappling with graduate work in the afternoon, visiting students' families in the early evening, and perhaps drafting a program proposal late at night. Patricia would take occasional hours from her other jobs as voice and dance teacher to counsel particular students, such as Sheila for whom she found a place at a boarding school and Seth Phillips whom his family's crude pressures to do college level work drove to autistic withdrawal and lying.

Four years later, when I returned to review the files to learn what had happened to our students since the first two summers, the amount of work we did is reflected by the number of journal entries in each student's file recording this trip to the doctor, that intervention with a teacher, or some work/study project we worked out with him to earn some money. Since then, with the exception of an end-of-the-summer evaluation or a form letter to a college admissions office, the files are bare.

My strongest relationships were with Rob and Tim. I shared an apartment with Greg and Rob, so Rob and I saw each other at all times of day and night. Tim and I would often drop over for coffee at the restaurant near the office, and more and more often I would appear for dinner at his home, enjoying the warmth of his family. Occasionally, we would make the train trip into New York together, he to attend an evening graduate class, I to attend some meeting. With both Tim and Rob talk flowed easily, since all three of us shared a range of interests and languages, from our particular students, to the politics of the New Haven community, to personal and educational philosophies.

With Valery I tended to feel more distance. She seemed less defined, more delicate. I feared imposing on her, overpowering her. Our relationship began to grow stronger later in the year, with gradually more personal initiatives by each of us, but then seemed to atrophy again over the second summer. She always performed well, but not with the kind of creative initiative that I could take for granted from Rob and Tim, so I think I kept a distance between us partly because I feared I might unfairly compare her work and thought to that of Rob and Tim.

One did not need to fear that one might overpower Patricia. Beautiful and dramatic, her presence could always be felt. In fact, I probably kept some distance from her for the opposite reason than from Valery--a fear of being somehow consumed by her if I ventured closer. I also feared that her philosophy and style were more authoritative than collaborative and thus did not mesh well with our program. At the same time, she was confident and effective with students, so I did not wish to be narrow-minded about what philosophy and style worked best. In the early fall she confronted me, at Rob's urging, about why I had seemed to avoid her during the summer session and we discussed all these issues, easing the tensions I felt.

BEGINNINGS OF THE RESEARCH

After Christmas, as we began to feel the need to recruit a new staff for the following summer, we began to become more aware of work that we ourselves, as a core staff, needed to do in preparation for recruiting. A number of threads contributed to this awareness. One, shared by all of us, was the belief that we must do a better job of tarining the new staff than we had been able to do the previous spring, yet we were unclear how to do this. Another, shared strongly by perhaps half of us and more weakly by the others, was the belief that we must come to learn more together as a group if we wished to serve as a model of self-directed learning for the new staff and the students. A third thread, again shared less evenly, was a sense that some of our realtionships within the group needed repairing if we were to be effective co-workers. In particular, Tim's relationships with both Rob and Patricia seemed strained.

I think I felt still other threads contributing to the need for preparation more strongly than did the other members. I wished to find some way of increasing our collective interpersonal competence to make us more capable of handling the demands of a more rigorous staff training program. I know that Tim also felt this need for himself, but the other members, while they supported the idea in principle, did not show much personal commitment to it.

Another thread I felt was the need for a commonly shared language among us which we could apply to concrete events. Although we had worked together for close to a year now, I was still not confident that anyone besides Rob and Tim on the core staff could articulate our purpose very clearly or distinguish between acts that fulfilled this purpose and acts which contradicted it.

A final thread contributing to my sense of the need for self-preparation on our part was a belief that research should now begin to play a more defined role in our program, since we were now able to define our goals and dilemmas more clearly.

I should note that this belief may partly have been self-serving, since at that time I hoped to be able to research the program for my doctoral dissertation. Moreover, my dissertation committee was concerned that my approach so far had been over-intuitive, sloppy, and under-committed to developing valid knowledge (by their definition). Nevertheless, I do not believe that these pressures from another part of my life were central to my wish to introduce research more explicitly into the program. From the outset, I had argued to my committee that valid social research could be conducted only under conditions of trust between researcher and subjects and that the early stages of Upward Bound were devoted to creating such a trusting environment.

The perspective behind the last sentence deserves further elaboration, since it leads to a definition of the kind of research I conceived of as important for the core staff to undertake. To me, social truth includes invisible thoughts and feelings hidden within persons, sometimes even from themselves, and not revealed except under conditions of trust. Therefore, no amount of mere objectivity would reveal such collective, but subjective, aspects of social truth. Rather, the first step in genuine social research must be to build a community of trust dedicated to discovering the truth--in short, to create a genuine school--within which participants would willingly commit themselves to honest sharing and testing of their thoughts, feelings, perceptions, and actions. My concerns with community development, with self-directed learning, and with research seemed to me utterly interdependent. No one of the three processes could evolve into full definition before the other two. Thus, during the first spring and summer all three of these qualities could at best only begin to germinate. Now, in the winter, having achieved some sense of community as described in the previous chapter, and hoping to encourage self-directed learning more explicitly among the new staff, it seemed to me appropriate that research achieve higher definition as well, since we could now compare our various conceptions of the program's aim (as reported in the foreshadowing of the core staff research on pages 184-186), or examine our feelings and actions in light of our aim (as will be reported in the following pages).

Before proceeding to the core staff research, however, I wish to recapitulate and emphasize the importance of the earlier, more primitive stage. The whole first summer had been devoted to a rare kind of social research--research ON the fundamental aim of the school. This kind of research necessarily precluded a neat methodology, since any such methodology would have presumed agreements among us, which we had yet to reach, about the nature of reality and about what was important in our particular enterprise. To have superimposed a neat research design upon the program, in order to syphon off knowledge about what was "really" going on, whether for Congress or for a scholarly journal, would have generated knowledge that was invalid and destructive in two fundamental ways. First, it would have tended to reinforce for the participants in the program the all-too-prevalent assumption that research and action are intrinsically irrelevant to one another and would, consequently, have tended further to discourage research on their parts to increase their action-effectiveness. (That such action research was foreign, unimagined, or at least unpracticed by many of the participants anyway, my earlier analyses of conversations have indicated.) Second, the superimposition of a neat research design would have resulted in invalid and destructive knowledge for the later readers of the research, in that it would have masked the emotional truth central to the first summer--the great and unavoidable anxiety and uncertainty about where we were going and whether we were spawning new order or chaos.

Even the narrative form in which I have rendered parts of the first spring and summer, with occasional flash-forwards to the eventual effects of our actions, runs the risk of over-organizing the experience and thus shielding the reader from its agony. For example, it occurs to me that I have conveyed little sense of the sheer number of incidents that would occur each day of the summer session and of the layers of exhaustion that I, and I'm sure others, came to feel, such that toward the end of the program my mind would develop a dead sort of buzz for hour-long periods several times a day, and my body and voice would feel like a distant, merely reactive, robot. These are important facts to convey, so that others take them into consideration when deciding whether to participate in a truly new program. For if one considers only the potential excitement and rewards, then one will become embittered by the scale of the actual demands of the situation and will cease doing the kind of research that will expand one's sense of reality and improve one's action skills at the very moment when such research becomes necessary and would be creati

This earliest stage of research is the hardest in the sense of being the most amorphous and allowing the fewest assumptions. We further intensified its difficulty by trying to find a common purpose across many deep cleavages of race and socio-economic status. (Perhaps the most significant outcome of this experience and this story can be a more widely shared appreciation for the huge scale of this task even when it is faced directly.) This stage of research is also the most difficult to pronounce successfully completed. There can be no neat empirical measure for when persons have come to a sense of shared purpose, for it is only at this point that they share a norm against which they might wish to begin to measure their actual behavior.

The second stage of research is the hardest in another sense. At this point, the discrepancies among participants' perceptions of reality become more sharply defined and therefore more mutually confronting. For example, whereas the conflict between the two staff factions during the first summer session could smolder for weeks before becoming fully explicit, virtually every member of the core staff was to be strongly confronted in four sessions of core staff research about his or her patterns of behavior, perception, and feeling.

However convincing these arguments about the nature and stages of social research may appear to the reader, let me hurry to assure you that neither my dissertation committee nor even the core staff ever gave much evidence of being convinced. The former continued to feel that I underplayed research, while the latter tended to feel that I overplayed it. But since the core staff had many other reasons for wishing to prepare itself for the spring, my suggestion that we re-search our own behavior met with general acceptance and even enthusiasm, especially when I asked the staff to share in designing and analyzing the research insofar as individual members wished to.

We developed four different approaches. First, we would fill out and discuss among ourselves the same application forms we intended to use in recruiting new staff. This procedure would hopefully both help us to get to know one another better and alert us to the kinds of issues it mgiht be fruitful to raise in interviews with staff applicants. Second, we devised a questionnaire which asked each member to give his impressions of himself and all the other core staff on a number of dimensions. The material on others' perceptions of my aim for the school, presented in the previous chapter, was drawn from this questionnaire. Third, Grace Porter and I would score several core staff meetings according to a system which distinguished individuality-enhancing behavior from conformity-producing behavior. Fourth, the core staff would hold several longer-than-usual meetings to explore the implications of the first three kinds of research.

EITHER/OR vs. BOTH/AND

Our first meeting in early January began twenty-five minutes late because Rob had been immersed in a conversation relating to another project of his. The rest of the staff studied one another's application forms, which had been written and duplicated the previous week, and began to fill out the questionnaire which Grace, Valery, Tim and I had all contributed to. INSERT (see next pg) ¶ After Rob had arrived and the questionnaires had been completed, I asked that we share our expectations for the meeting before proceeding to any one topic.

Grace immediately returned the question to me, "I'm hoping to find out what you hope to accomplish...because I'm not sure whether it's content or process...Are we really applying for jobs are are we trying to come to grips with issues between us?"

Tim immediately leaped to one side of this duality: "The only reason I would like to see a discussion of the application form is to get beyond the form to ourselves. I see the application form as being helpful only insofar as it helps us see ourselves as others see us."

And Bob's reply illustrated the other pole: "I felt...that we were trying to put ourselves through a process that would be as much as possible like the one we put other applicants through later...I think we should go

The somewhat cramped central room of our office area, in which we were presently sitting in the old wooden school chairs we had found in the basement, made as dreary a meeting place as it had once made a dormitory room. Although it was a stark place to work, at the time I was primarily aware of being proud that we had spent no money whatsoever on our own furnishings. In retrospect, the fact that it never occurred to me to suggest we work together to make the environment more hospitable and more personal--a kind of work that would have been enjoyable in itself--strikes me as evidence of the abstractness of my relations to others. I was much too busy relating to people verbally to 'waste time' on such a project. (Later, the coldness, formality, and interruptions at the office led others to suggest we switch these meetings to evenings at Rob's and my apartment, which we did.)

through the application forms and try to deal with them, which in my mind would be a content rather than a process concern."

I wished we could appreciate that reality included *both* process *and* content at each moment, not either/or, so, in my patient, [redacted] controlled, abstract manner, I gave a short lecture: "I see three things...We tend to rigidify distinctions...It *is* confusing because when we talk about process it becomes the content...I hope we get out of this the ability to recognize the impact we have on one another as we go through the process of applying for a job because that is what I hope the selection process will be for the applicants..."

At this point, ironically, the discussion of what we were going to do was prolonged by Rob, as he complained that we were expending too much energy on what we were going to do and thus preventing ourselves from doing it. This aroused Jim's anger: "What happens is that you seem to plan this afternoon entirely around Rob Gilman. Rob wanted to start the meeting at a certain time so you came, and then I think there was a sense of acceptance about what Bill wanted to do, and immediately you said Rob doesn't see it this way so we're wasting our time." Rob did not deny Tim's accusation, but defended his observation that the group was "using a *how* discussion to prevent *what* we want to do." Patricia interjected, "I have just been observing that what you have been discussing has kept us from the main issue for another ten minutes." Within another minute we made the transition to considering the applications, the dichotomy between *content* and *process*, between *what* and *how*, still regnant in most members' minds, I suspect.

Tim spoke of his discomfort in filling out the application form because he felt a tension between the professional demand of an application and the deeply personal demand of the actual questions (e.g. What do you see as your personal strengths and limitations in interpersonal relations?) I had felt this tension in his answers as I had read them, for his deep feelings were no more than hinted at amidst his impressive intellectual formulations. As we talked I became more aware than ever before of the profound effect that the program was having on Tim. Coming from a working class background and an endless series of factory, trucking, taxi, and gas pumping jobs, and having simultaneously fought his way up the educational hierarchy to graduate school despite a lack of formal credentials (he had dropped out of high school, not yet graduated from college), he found himself at Upward Bound in a collaborative environment for the first time, where, as he put it, treating people with respect was an actual, practical, daily concern rather than a piece of Fourth of July rhetoric. For him, then, Upward Bound was an introduction to a new way of life, just as we hoped it could be for our students too. His clearest expression of feeling in his application had come in relation to the risks of committing himself to this new way: "I hope to explore some of the disquieting feelings I have about this kind of organization. What are its own prospects for success in a world probably not ready for it? What of the people in this community who have come to accept and believe in it when they are separated from it? (There seem to be those, myself included, who hold themselves back because of this fear.)"

His fear did not continue to hold him back. During the research meetings and through the spring and summer, he committed himself unreservedly to the principle of continual self-preparation, to learning while doing. And then, within a year of the time he wrote of his fear, he would have to deal with the very consequences it had forewarned him of. For Rob and I both left the program to work on our dissertations at the end of the second summer (my leaving had been programmed from the outset), and Yale hired a new director with an educational philosophy quite the opposite of mine. So Tim too resigned, the program we had conceived now dead, and the community we had evolved now dispersed.

SILENTLY AGREEABLE VALERY

Back at the meeting, Rob shared with us his new impressions and confirmations of old impressions, based on reading our applications. Patricia he found more direct and candid on paper than in conversation; in Grace he perceived a pattern of minimizing herself, but always so gracefully that one could feel both her competence and her lack of self-esteem.

Tim and I had differing reactions to a comment of Rob's on his application that despite his verbal and intellectual abilities he basically felt a kind of guileless loyalty to others as his main interpersonal strength. For me it was a pleasure to hear this from Rob because it confirmed a sense that I did have of him but that was usually submerged under a more tangible sense of his intellectual impressiveness. It felt good to me to have him affirm his basic connectedness to me and the other members of the program. Tim, on the contrary, was more in touch with signs of Rob's relative lack of commitment to us, such as his lateness for this meeting, and consequently reported a distrust of Rob's purported guilelessness.

None of these impressions of one another were pursued at any length at this meeting, until we reached Valery. Grace asked others of us what our reactions were to a phrase Valery had included in her application to the effect that "in general I am silently agreeable."

Tim responded, "My reaction was that I agreed she was silent, but I wondered whether she was agreeable. To mention something I feel guilty about: in the past most of her time has been spent with books, forms, etc. and my feeling was, how easy to let her do it."

"I was comfortable on that point, Valery," continued Patricia, "because I thought you were hired to do all those things, to be a sort of secretary, and I couldn't understand why you were dissatisfied." This latter point referred to a meeting the past week, when, in redividing our jobs for the winter and spring, Valery had said she would prefer not to continue handling all the bookkeeping.

Valery laughed nervously, as Patricia finished, "So now months later I don't know what you were hired for."

A pause yielded no further response from Valery, so Tim asked, "Do you expect to continue to be silent?"

"No," she offered. Another pause. "You are being," from Tim. Another pause.

"What I can't imagine now" (this from me) "is not so much your being silent as your being agreeable. That is, I hear a number of conflicting things being said about you. I don't see how you could agree with all."

"I thought I'd made that clear: I said in general I'm agreeable, but then there's this."

"Yes, that's a good point," I replied, somewhat uncomfortably because my rather patronizing attempt to help her see a pattern in her behavior had misfired. "I'd be interested in hearing what you saw yourself hired for, what you saw as our original agreement, and how you felt about me."

"When I was hired, it was really unclear," she replied immediately, as though liberated by the specificity of my questions. "You were out there, I was in here--it had to be done--there was no one else to do it. But I thought this was just a matter of a beginning, as I think I told you. Then, partly because we had no secretary...and I had started it, and no one else really wanted to do it, and who was going to do it? Now I'm working with the students... How I feel about you? Well, I guess I answered that."

"No, I don't feel you did. I heard you say 'I was stuck with it' and I can infer 'I was stuck with it by Bill'. But that's not the way you put it. I wondered what your feeling was towards me."

"Well, initially yes, 'by you', but other people came in and could have done it--little things..."

"Yes?"

"Valery," began Grace.

"I'm sorry, I want to hear this," I cut in.

"...it was so strong, and no one else would do it, and it was necessary to do it. There's some things that you just have to do."

Grace re-entered: "I wanted to ask how did you feel when I came into the office and said could you teach me this stuff. You probably thought I was unteachable. I was anxious to take some of it off your shoulders."

"Well, at that point, well, it was about the same thing, Grace. There were some things you were less interested by and you said let's do them together. Which is about the same thing as doing it by myself, because that's just how I see it."

Now Patricia: "I want to apologize first of all because I have certainly treated you as if you had this job. Specifically last week, for instance, I made a request of you about changing my check."

"Right."

"You know why I'm sorry, Valery? That you couldn't say to me, 'Patricia, that's not my job, but here's who you contact and you do it.'"

"That's why you needn't apologize," replied Valery, "because you're not the only one, and I didn't really correct that."

Then Tim: "What bothered me was that I just carved out my job as I wished it and I couldn't say I didn't know what Valery's job really was."

And Rob: "As a matter of fact, when Greg interviewed me for the job he asked could I type, and I said not well, and he said would I type, and I said I would, and he said 'because we don't have a secretary,' and that's the basis on which I first came. I do remember that I did some typing, but you clearly were doing more work on the books."

"Were you all working on the books?" asked Patricia.

"No," replied Rob, "Valery was alone and the issue was never raised. And I'm not sure it was just her job to raise it. I got the impression--obviously wrong--that you liked doing the books. When I asked you the other day and you said 'No', it was the first time I was aware of it. Since you had been doing them, I assumed you didn't mind."

And me: "I've said all along that I couldn't stand working on those books and would do whatever I could to arrange the organization so I wouldn't have to. But I'm not interested in *imposing* the job on another either. On the other hand, I've felt I've ignored you in your job of doing that because I was so disinterested in it and probably because I didn't want to get too close and find you weren't interested in it and have to arrange something else. On the other hand, I've felt that I have made efforts to raise issues with you at various times and I feel that the 'silently agreeable' problem is a real one. In other words, other members of the staff *have* carved out jobs for themselves, and I guess I feel more comfortable with that than I do about the situation with you because I feel that your attitude invites us to impose on you, when you say 'Some things have to be done'. I don't regard the world that way. I don't think anything *has* to be done. I mean that in the broadest possible sense."

Patricia turned it another way. "I don't know if this would make it easier for you to tell people how you feel about your job: I think of you as a very kind, human person and I think the rest of us feel now in a way that we don't like to feel--guilty and apologetic and unhappy. Maybe if you know this you will not want to put us in this position--it will become easier for you to tell us."

Reflectively, Valery concluded the meeting with, "I didn't set a path for myself when I came. It was there and I took it and I guess it should have been my responsibility to say to Bill, 'I want to change it.'"

After this meeting her job did change. During the spring and summer she coordinated work on the books rather than doing it all herself and she took on primary responsibility for student admissions in the spring and for contact with parents during the summer.

Other signs pointed to her continued questioning of her 'silently agreeable' style. She entered into some long conversations with me about her status within her family and whether she should move away from home in order to permit herself to consolidate a greater sense of independence. In the spring she began doing her hair in the Afro style. And it was my impression that when she spoke at meetings her contributions sounded more definite, stronger.

Her level of participation at meetings remained as low as before (even at the above-reported meeting at which she was the center of attention she spoke only 6% of the total number of units). Which may be no more than to say that the rest of this highly verbal staff continued its pattern of making it difficult for her to enter the conversation.

PATRICIA'S DRAMA

At our next meeting the group's attention shifted to relationships with Patricia. Responses to the questionnaire showed that other members of the staff estimated a higher level of conflict with Patricia than she did with them. Her first response to this finding was to suggest that the source of this discrepancy must lie in the other staff members, since it was true that she felt no conflict with them. I noted, however, that the other staff members showed no consistent tendencies to over- or under-estimate conflict in relation to one another (except for Valery, who tended to estimate more conflict with others than they estimated with her, confirming again that her silence was not always correlated with agreeableness). I suggested that since Patricia and Valery were the two whose patterns of conflict with others were consistent they probably had more control than others over changing those patterns if they wished to. Valery agreed with an easy nod of the head on the basis of our conversation during the previous meeting. But Patricia was more resistant. One example of conflict mentioned seemed to her a historical matter no longer relevant. Another example seemed to her a 'disagreement' rather than a conflict.

Finally, it was Valery who hit the issue head on rather than remaining 'silently agreeable'; "With me I think it is a conflict. I don't know whether to bring it up. You seem to always be so dramatic that I don't know when you're being Patricia."

"Well, that's Patricia," replied the latter in a loud, dramatic, final tone of voice.

"Well..." Valery tried to start again, searching hesitantly.

"I - am - a - dramatic - personality," enunciated Patricia, slowly and forcefully.

"But it's still hard for me to decide whether you're being real or not."

Patricia now leaned forward and, in a sincere, strong, demanding voice, asked, "How do you feel this? In what way do you assess me as being dramatic?"

Valery, probably overwhelmed by Patricia's forceful dramatics, yielded a weak and vague, "Well, in every way."

Patricia plunged ahead loudly, "My speech..." then, after a pause, she continued more reflectively, as though with more attention to her actual experience than to her way of presenting herself, "People have brought this up before--my speech terribly offends and bothers many people. I can't hear my speech and I don't know if I should change my speech to please people. I don't know if this is something one should ask me to do."

"No, I don't think so," said Valery, retreating now that Patricia had shown vulnerability.

"My tone--and David brought this up last spring--my tone of voice--I don't know how one would describe it..."

Touched by her exploration, I tried to give her some immediate feedback, "Your tone of voice to me is different now than it was a few minutes ago."

"I have a great range," inserted Patricia, somehow feeling a need for a comeback.

"It seems to have softened and deepened," I continued.

"It's still Patricia though," Ray, who was present at the meeting, put in, as though I were denying it.

"Do you feel it's more Patricia?" I asked. "I have a more sympathetic reaction to this tone of voice than to the other, although..."

"This is certainly a more relaxed tone of voice because I'm trying to talk to Valery. When I'm trying to insert something in a more anxious way it may not be the same voice."

Rob: "Excuse me, Valery raised a problem about her relationship with you and now you're less anxious?"

Patricia, somewhat more guardedly: "Well, yes; I can understand, because somebody else has said that my voice bothers them."

Rob, trying to press his point somewhat argumentatively, since his leading question didn't work: "But I don't see how you can be less anxious when somebody has focused on the problem they're having with you than you were in general."

"If this is my problem; I can understand if I were sloppy, raucous, obnoxious in speech, then I would feel there was something I should do about it to be more educated. But I am wondering, if my tone bothers Valery, whose problem is this? Is this something I should change?"

Patricia was back on the defensive again and stayed there for several subsequent exchanges.

Neither she nor we were allowing that crucial moment for comments to sink in so that we could respond from our center to their center. Instead, each of us was trying to use tangents to penetrate the other's center without risking our own.

I asked her if she would remain silent for a few minutes and just take in what we said to her. She agreed and succeeded through three comments. The first two agreed that her voice was not in itself the issue. Then I tried one of my world-defining comments.

"Maybe I could get at it. Because I think you said it yourself a minute ago. That is, that there is a connection between your feeling of anxiety and using your dramatic voice. You've said that to me before, about actually being uncertain when you sound most authoritative. So I saw your change in voice before as occurring because here finally was the issue. There was nothing else but the issue. And then when Rob asked his question of you I heard your tone change again. It seems you are using your voice sometimes to avoid anxiety, and what it does to us--before we get to know you, because I don't feel it anymore--it raises a question about your effect on people when they first get to know you. I guess the way I used to feel was 'Gosh, it's going to be difficult to confront her on this issue.'"

Rather than letting what I had said sink in, Patricia took control; stating, "You felt intimidated, afraid of me."

Startled and confused by her rapid entry, uncertain whether to respond to what she had said or how she had spoken, I paused. "Not afraid of you...but afraid to raise this issue with you."

This time Rob jumped in, rather than allowing a silence for assimilation. We continued for another half hour without any further progress on the issue.

Patricia seemed too threatened by the implications of her dramatic style to acknowledge it as a dilemma.

At the same time, so close were the rest of us to verbalizing the dilemma as we felt it that we seemed to pressure her; we tried to convince her. We tried to show her the pattern we saw before she developed a clear commitment to seeing the pattern and a full trust that we would not persecute her for being that way.

Although our third meeting focused more on Rob and Tim, Tim at one point reformulated the problem he felt with Patricia in terms of her tendency to tell people authoritatively what they were feeling, rather than letting them tell her. To which she responded mock-dramatically, "Give me a knife and I'll cut my jugular."

Toward the end of the third meeting she defended her style more directly and, therefore, more touchingly. "I always think, 'People will like you, Patricia, when they get to know you, because you're lovable. Until they get to know you, you're not so lovable!'" (This last with a faint Jewish

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THE SUBTLETIES OF SEEING INCONGRUITIES

This incomplete conversation demonstrates the difficulty of what I earlier called the second stage of social research, when the congruence or incongruence between one's intention and one's behavioral effect comes into question. Attributes of persons' styles that have become habitual for them, even though they may not be the most direct and effective way of expressing themselves, suddenly come into question again as a result of others' comments. The participants must become capable of a series of subtle distinctions if such conversations are to generate valid knowledge and thus increase one another's self-directedness and collaborative effectiveness.

First, the participants must learn to speak and hear in terms of perceptions and feelings rather than facts and opinions. Whereas facts and opinions are *either right or wrong* and therefore invite either submission or argument in response, perceptions and feelings tend to be *both right and incomplete* and therefore invite both acceptance and shared exploration. That is, perceptions and feelings tend to be right in the sense that the speaker does experience them, just as I experienced Patricia's tone of voice change.* This information could be valuable to Patricia in itself, for if she collected enough of it, she could begin to sense how she affects others and could decide whether she wished to have this effect.

But too often either the speaker or the hearer short-circuits such exploration by assuming that the speaker's perception or feeling directly indicates what is right for the hearer, whereas actually it only signals the beginning of a conversation, being in itself essentially incomplete. Thus, Patricia's defensiveness after I noted her changed tone of voice suggests that she jumped to the conclusion (perhaps subconsciously) that I was finding fault or telling her how to be. Consequently, instead of engaging in a shared exploration of the meaning of my perception, the conversation deteriorated toward argumentativeness.

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*I say "tend to be" because there are further conceivable subtleties and complications: the speaker may only believe he is experiencing what he says, or he may indeterminably distort his perception by presenting it as though it were a fact.

Patricia seemed to have invested much of her sense of herself in a particular pattern of behavior, so that questioning whether it was appropriate was threatening to her. This observation suggests an internal kind of work a person must do if he or she is to find this kind of research valuable. Persons must struggle to differentiate their abstract sense of self (of intention, of centered motivation) from the particular behavior they adopt to express themselves or achieve their goals. Otherwise, changing their behavior will always feel like a diminution of themselves and a submission to external pressure, rather than like an enhancement of themselves.

If a person comes to appreciate, not in the abstract but in the actual conduct of conversations, the distinctions between perception and fact, between feeling and opinion, between intention and behavior, he comes to the beginning of still subtler questions. What in himself is he to accept as a genuine manifestation of intention? How is he to determine when a particular concrete behavior congruently embodies an abstract intention? Who else can he trust to comment on these deeply personal questions? None of these questions can be answered before, or apart from, experience. Their asking and gradual answering is intrinsic to increasingly conscious experiencing.

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Patricia did not seem to appreciate these distinctions in her interactions with the rest of the core staff.

accent that drew us to laugh with her.) "'You know you're strong and you've had to be strong, by God.' And I cannot be a soft, feminine, retiring creature because I have got to be a strong, silent, taking woman because I've got two kids and I've raised them since they were babes."

The research meetings had reawakened, without resolving, the incongruity between Patricia's dramatic, authoritative style and the self-questioning, collaborative thrust of the program as a whole. She had been a fine drama teacher the summer before and appeared to relate well to a number of the girls in her role as counselor, so I had felt it important to keep trying to work with her despite the special investment of time it had required of us both to overcome our differences. Now, however, I began to feel that the differences between us constituted a liability both to the program and to her. During the next month she and I spoke several times at length, but each conversation yielded only increased misunderstanding and anxiety on her part. Finally, I suggested that both of us might be more comfortable if she joined the Yale Summer High School staff instead. She did so and had a fine summer, working well in the more structured environment they created. And I found myself having negotiated the for-me-traumatic experience of having fired someone with the to-me-surprising result of vastly improving both our lives.

see next page

What of my role during these meetings? Of course, I had been their prime instigator and repeatedly took a helping, clarifying, or confronting role in them. But what of my willingness to explore my own patterns of behavior? I am struck, as I review the tapes of the meetings, by the lack of such exploration on my part. Valery and Tim explored their patterns of behavior, while Rob and Patricia balked more at exploring, all in response to

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Firing had always struck me as cowardly, painful, and inhumane, and, indeed, I believe superiors all too often use firing as a way of scapegoating someone else, or as a way of feeling they are taking concrete steps to solve a problem they do not understand, or as a way of protecting their narrow version of reality. But I now see that, limited as we are, there are occasions when two persons cause each other only pain by working together. If both are equally committed to stretching themselves by learning from this pain, even such a situation can be endured and can become profitable. But the level of commitment to self-directed learning can itself in the short run be an irreconcilable difference among persons. In such a case they had best work at some distance from one another.

confrontation by other members of the group. I, on the other hand, was not confronted to anywhere near the same degree. Why not?

I think I worked hard at making myself invulnerable, though I wasn't aware of this process at the time. I made myself invulnerable in a number of subtle, complementary ways. The first was by a kind of pre-emptive openness. I sought information about my performance so avidly that I perceived, formulated, and declared my patterns of behavior before others could. The only exception to this rule during the program had been Greg's observations about my inability to befriend the staff members the first summer. Now I shared an apartment with Greg and Rob and spent much time with Tim Weston, so I felt I had taken important steps to solve this problem (allthough the very quality of 'taking steps' suggests a continuing lack of spontaneity).

My second way of achieving invulnerability was through my theoretical knowledge about educational, interpersonal, and behavioral matters and my dexterity at finding applications of, and analogies to, such ideas in ongoing conversations. This knowledge and skill often put me in the "vanguard" of the staff, with others following my moves rather than confronting me.

My third way of remaining invulnerable was to divide my major emotional risks from my work. This is not to say that I did not care about my work. But I did not risk my sense of emotional stability in my work. I believe I needed terribly to be cared _for_, but feared being controlled by another. I did not try to find such caring-for-me at work. Instead, at the time of these meetings I became engaged.

I don't believe that any of these patterns was merely a personal defense to make myself invulnerable. And, of course, at the time I was unaware that I was using them as defenses at all. I (and others) thought of the first two as unobjectionably useful and of my upcoming marriage as "natural" and unrelated to work.

I felt very good about my own and others' performance at the research meetings. I believed that the staff as a whole (and especially Tim and Grace) were increasing their interpersonal competence rapidly.

This belief was confirmed by scoring the three meetings, using a procedure devised by my advisor, Chris Argyris. He had found in all the natural groups he had studied (in business, government, and education) an interpersonal world

> ...where individuals tend to express their ideas in such a way that they support norms of, concern for, or conformity to, ideas...Individuals do not, nor do group norms, support their owning up to their feelings, or being open to others' feelings. There is almost no experimenting with ideas and feelings and almost no trust existing in the groups. Rarely do individuals help others to own up to, be open with, and experiment with ideas and feelings.

By contrast, he found a different pattern in some successful T-groups:

> ...Feelings are expressed, risks are being taken, helping others to own, to be open and to experiment occurs, and... norms of conformity and antagonism become less potent while the norms of individuality and trust become more potent. (1969, p346)

The core staff's behavior during these meetings approximated the second pattern rather than the first. Sixteen percent of our comments were feelings, as opposed to one percent or less in most natural groups. Only eleven percent

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of our comments supported a norm of conformity, as opposed to up to seventy-five percent of comments in Argyris' natural groups. Three percent of our behavior involved helping others, as opposed to less than one percent in Argyris' natural groups. And one percent of our behavior was experimenting, as opposed to .001 percent in Argyris' natural groups.

With this preparation, we turned to the task of devising a selection procedure that would help us choose and train a staff for the second summer that would be more interpersonally helpful and experimental than our first summer's staff.

Besides these meetings which focused on our interpersonal relationships, awareness, and skills, we held two other meetings. At one we interviewed two staff applicants, with other members of the core staff observing, and then critiqued both the interviewers' style and their judgments about the applicants. This occasion increased our confidence that we shared a sense of how to interview and what criteria to use.

At the second meeting we all participated in a non-verbal exercise which emphasized our patterns and attitudes as helpers or as persons being helped. Half the staff donned blindfolds while the other half were assigned to help the blindfolded members find some ashtrays down on the first floor of the building, return them to our office, and later go for coffee at the restaurant across the street. This exercise revealed many amusing and significant patterns. For example, Rob announced at the outset, in his usual assertive way that he would reverse roles and experiment with being one of the dependent, blindfolded persons. But as soon as he put on his own blindfold, he turned to Valery, who was also blindfolded, and suggested they escort one another rather than relying on a sighted person for help. Thereafter, he delighted in guiding Valery, who was far more cautious, and refusing all offers of help. Only later, when we discussed the exercise, did it suddenly occur to him that he had altogether avoided experimenting with a dependent role.

In the meantime, we had all enjoyed being the center of attention at the restaurant, as blindfolded persons attempted not to spill their coffee on the way from the counter to the table.

X. AN EXPERIMENTAL SELECTION PROCESS

In fact, I took most of the initiative in devising the upcoming selection process, although it was done in consultation with the other members of the core staff. During the research period we had achieved a level of mutual confrontation, commitment and understanding that made me feel as though I could express and enact more of my ideas. Up until then, ever since Greg and I had sacrificed the details of our dream school early the previous spring, I had treated a large part of my ideas and aspirations as primarily relevant only to my own action.

The more reliable sense of shared purpose and process that I derived from the core staff research, combined with the other events that increased our corporate sense of identity, emboldened me to take a stronger lead in structuring the selection process. Because these feelings were opposed by my continued ideological and habitual reluctance to assert control over events, I made several mistakes in the concept and enactment of the selection process.

At the same time, however, the seeds of a later understanding sprouted in the course of this event. I began to experience how ideas can find expression in structuring common experience even if they don't resonate in another when spoken directly. The resulting structure can introduce others to dilemmas, the eventual resolution of which liberate them to the point where the direct speaking of the idea becomes meaningful. At that point, the "external" organizational structure is no longer a necessary intermediary between me and the other person, for we have both shared and internalized the same idea--

the same way of structuring our experience.

Behind this approach lies the idea/experience that persons cannot ordinarily fully hear one another and fully collaborate toward their common good because their awareness is too narrow to appreciate how ideas apply to their own immediate behavior and to their lifetime aims, so they tend to act more conventionally or chaotically than self-directedly. Liberating structures would widen persons' awareness and make full, self-directed collaboration practical.

The reader probably notices the difference between this philosophy, which starts with a definite structure and aims toward full collaboration, and the philosophy enacted in the program, which began in diffuse collaboration and was gradually evolving a more definite structure. The two philosophies do not now seem to me to stand in opposition to one another (for one thing, diffuse collaboration and full collaboration are clearly two different processes). Which, or what mix, of the two is appropriate depends upon the leadership, the membership, and the historical stage of the project they are engaged in.

These considerations carry us far ahead of, and even beyond, the story of Upward Bound. The reader will want to study the actual plans and actions of this selection process to gain a more concrete sense of what I mean by liberating structure. And then, since my belief that the two apparently opposite philosophies are in fact complementary derives from further experiences after Upward Bound, the reader will have to test this belief against other experiences in his past or future to determine its validity.

THE PLAN

The plan called for applicants to fill out an application (which the core staff pre-tested on itself), asking them to explore what they hoped to contribute to and learn from the program, and also asking them to assess their interpersonal strengths and limits.

Then the applicants would be invited to a general meeting, the primary purposes of which would be to describe the aim of the program and at the same time to disconfirm their expectations of ordinary, bureaucratic procedure. We wished to make explicit and emotionally unavoidable the need for staff members to develop higher levels of interpersonal competence if they were successfully to exhibit collaboration and encourage self-directed learning.

We expected to accomplish this second task by asking the applicants to provide solutions to a typical group problem of the summer. We would then dismiss their solutions as inadequate, but use the very behavioral strategies they had suggested in the act of dismissing them. In other words, if they suggested lecturing to the students, we would respond by lecturing them on why lecturing wouldn't work. Then we would ask them how they felt about our behavior and reveal our strategy. We would attempt to link their probable negative feelings toward us to the effects that their own strategies would be likely to have on students. We would also emphasize that the feelings of manipulation and distrust created by our manipulation forced all of us together to learn how intentionally to build trust amongst ourselves (rather than falsely assuming it was there, or regarding trust as irrelevant), since we wished to reach final decisions about who was to be selected in collaboration with the applicants.

Next we would arrange a half-hour interview between two of us and each applicant. The core staff would analyze the applications for dilemmas or incongruities (such as contradictions, unwillingness to assess limits, or discrepancies between claimed values and written behavior) and present these to the applicants. Also, of course, the introductory meeting would have provided a major relational dilemma to be worked on during the interviews. The two core staff members would attempt to respond as openly as possible to the applicant's behavior. Then they would attempt to assess the candidates' self-directedness and interpersonal competence on the basis of their applications and their behavior during the interviews. On this basis, applicants would be assigned to four small groups at a second general meeting. One group would be composed of 'strong' prospects, one of 'weak' prospects, the other two of persons who shared some behavior of which we were uncertain. (It turned out that one of these two groups was composed of persons who seemed either reluctant in their expression of feelings or else expressed their feelings in a con-rolling or condemnatory manner. The other group was composed of people who seemed so vague about their personal aims or the aim of the program that they might use them as a defense against examining their own behavior ["After all, I was only trying to help!"], rather than as a standard for their behavior.)

At these meetings members of the core staff would offer applicants all the information and evaluations we would have generated, along with the opportunity to discuss them and begin taking whatever steps applicants would like to take to change their status. This was to be the prime opportunity for applicants to evaluate the work of the core staff, assimilate or confront our selection criteria, and come to full partnership in the subsequent process.

They would face the dilemma of shedding their status as the-evaluated for the status of collaborative decision-makers. Again their self-direction would be called into play, as in the interviews, and core staff members would try to identify behavior they saw as self-directing during the course of the meeting, while themselves also modeling such behavior.

At a final meeting, I would present some alternative procedures and decision-making criteria for the final selection, among which we would choose by collaborative decision, and we would continue to work until a group of resident tutors was chosen. At this point, core staff members would function primarily as resources who could help structure specific learning experiences through which discriminations among applicants could be made (unless the collaborative decision vested them with special authority). We developed a certain repertoire of structured learning experiences, such as the blindfold game, through our own experiments while devising the above process.

LIBERATING ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

This selection process illustrates the eight qualities I have since been able to distinguish as characteristic of "liberating organizational structure."

[redacted]

One quality is deliberate irony to elucidate hidden relationships. For example, the first meeting was structured to manipulate the applicants in the same ways they recommended manipulating students, in order to show them that they were unwittingly manipulative and also that such manipulation was not effective.

A second quality essential to liberating structure is the definition of tasks which are incomprehensible without reference to their interrelation with organizational process and purpose. Thus, on the face of it, asking applicants to collaborate in their own selection seems awkward, time-consuming, and likely to result in invalid choices. Reference to our purpose of encouraging self- directed learning and to our process of collaborative decision-making puts our method of selection in a different perspective, however. Now it or something very much like it becomes almost inevitable if we are to act in congruence with our purpose.

A third quality of liberating structure is pre-meditated evolution over time. No one structural configuration is an end in itself, but rather a vehicle which becomes expendable as soon as it succeeds in enhancing participants' awareness and skills to embrace the ironies that initially blocked them. During the selection process the relationship between core staff and applicants was structured to evolve from confrontation at the first meeting to evaluation at the second meeting to collaboration at the third.

A fourth characteristic of liberating structure, implicit in the first three, is a continuing emphasis--in practice, not just in rhetoric--on mutual learning as critical for organizational effectiveness. This characteristic is reflected in our selection procedure by such events as the expected disconfirmation of applicants' problem solutions at the first meeting and the evaluative feedback they were to receive in the small groups.

A fifth quality of liberating structure is its use of all available forms of authority to support its efforts to generate full collaboration. The very possibility of creating a liberating structure presupposes that the leadership is in a position which others may regard as having authority "over" them, whether it be conceived of as coercive, legitimate, charismatic, or expert authority. Whether or not the leadership intentionally wields these kinds of authority, it will be perceived by at least some members as doing so. Consequently, the leadership frames its actions to engage members with such expectations and perceptions, while at the same time attempting to demonstrate their invalidity and thus to transform them. The irony of manipulating applicants to demonstrate the invalidity of manipulation exemplifies this process. This example illustrates how the members' expectations, perceptions, and action-assumptions influence the mode of authority which they perceive as being exercised "over" them. For, the reader will recall that our intention was to respond manipulatively to the applicants *only if* their solutions to the case were manipulative in nature. Moreover, we intended to respond openly if at any point in the conversation an applicant took the initiative to confront us openly about our manipulative behavior.

This "responsive openness" represents a sixth essential characteristic of liberating structure--its openness to inspection and challenge by organization members. Here the leadership must be particularly poised, for some members may challenge the structure on the basis of a merely ideological or rhetorical commitment to collaboration. To preserve the possibility of genuine, enacted collaboration, the leadership must oppose changing the structure on ideological grounds, instead encouraging attention to one another's actual motivation, awareness, and behavior as the basis for determining what kind of structure will be most effective. (In fact, as the reader will see, I failed this test on several occasions during the spring and summer, most notably during the incident described on pages 293-299.)

Another characteristic of liberating structure which differentiates it from authoritarian structures is its vulnerability to attack and public failure when its leadership acts inauthentically (that is, when its behavior is not a congruent translation from centered motivation through thought and feeling, or, in other words, when its tasks, processes, and purposes become incongruent). The behavior of the leadership and the ironic qualities of liberating structure draw attacks from members of the organization from the outset, even as they are developing commitment to some aspects of the organizing experience, for they find themselves in unconventional, undefined, and uncomfortable postures. With sufficient will and virtuosity, the leadership can turn these attacks into significant learning experiences for themselves and members, increasingly gaining members' trust as it shows appropriate strength and vulnerability. If, however, the leadership exerts power in manipulative and defensive forms, the members will become antagonistic and embittered, making the organization ineffective.

A final quality of liberating structure, which must be evident by now even though implicit, is that it depends upon a leadership more aware of the interplay among levels of experience than its members. Obviously, too, the leadership will not choose to exercise its power in the form of liberating structures unless it experiences as true the various propositions in the preceding pages. These propositions cannot merely be assumed or arrived at deductively, for these methods do not provide the motivation for congruently acting upon the propositions in crisis situations. Again and again in the following pages events will show that core staff members' awareness was only marginally and occasionally wider than that of the staff applicants, and that our experience of this whole theory as true was only incipient. (Indeed, it is important to remember that this theory and the phrase "liberating organizational structure," has become explicit for me only after these events occurred.)

The eight qualities and the very project implicit in the name of "liberating organizational structure" rest upon two more fundamental propositions about man-in-the-world. The first proposition is that reality consists of "matter" of varying density-frequency ratios such that the finer interpenetrate the denser, just as radio waves penetrate the walls of homes. I would argue that in persons centered motivation interpenetrates thought and feeling and thought and feeling in turn interpenetrate behavior, even when they are unaware of these processes. We can extend this model to other aspects of the social world, as in the following table:

Table 1: Three "Levels" of Reality

In Person-Events	In Organizations	In Society
Behavior (Perception)	Task (Content)	Symbols (Tokens of value)
Thought (Feeling)	Process (Structure)	Values (Institutions)
Centered motivation (Life-form) (Consciousness)	Purpose (Spirit)	Myths

In Learning	In Science	In Human Attenti
Concrete experience	Empirical fact	Focal awareness/ Focal object
Reflective observation	Logical theory	Subsidary awareness/ground
Abstract generalization	Intuitive Model	Thread of intentionality/ region

The second proposition is that persons socialized and educated in conventional modes, no matter how "bright" or "successful", are limited to focal awareness. Their awareness rarely, if ever, includes the ground "behind" focuser and focal object, or the intention of the focuser and the region of the focal object.* Consequently, they are not directly aware of organizational processes and purposes. Personal authenticity and organizational effectiveness are, thus, impossible so long as human attention is restricted to focal awareness.

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*The argument supporting these propositions is made in my Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness. The concept of intention depends on Husserl's Ideas and the concept of region on Heidegger's Discourse on Thinking.

A liberating organizational structure will attempt to expand (intensify, relax, discipline) members' awareness to include all three "levels" and the interactions among them, so that personal authenticity and organizational effectiveness become possible. Both coercive structures and undifferentiated collaborative structures hide this central educational need, the former by assuming that persons are not, cannot be, and should not be free and responsible (at least not at any "cost" to the organization), the latter by assuming that persons are unambiguously free and responsible from the start.

THE ACTUAL PROCESS

The case we presented at our initial meeting with forty-five applicants illustrated a typical dilemma which a staff member might face during the summer. The applicants were to imagine themselves meeting with their tutor groups, as well as with another tutor group and its tutor, for the purpose of selecting a student to represent them on the Governing Committee. A popular student is at once nominated and without discussion seems about to be elected by acclaim. The other tutor seems to agree with the choice, but you are less sure that the candidate is really committed to handling the difficult job of representing the groups and working through issues with them. What would you do?

The applicants' proposals all seemed to have one of three qualities in common. One solution was to *manipulate* the situation covertly to get a better result. For example, one solution involved asking that everybody have time to think about the issue before making a decision, then trying to influence the other tutor and individual students before the next meeting. Another approach was to *intellectualize* the issue. Thus, one proposal was to begin a discussion of the importance of the office in order to generate a greater awareness among the students of what was at stake. A third tendency was to *avoid* the issue. One proposal instantiated this tendency by recommending that the students learn from their mistakes, if indeed it was a mistake, rather than having the tutor 'impose' his wisdom.

Rob and I attacked all the solutions as containing these qualities, but did so in a *manipulative*, *intellectualizing* manner, *avoiding* any direct confrontation between themselves and the applicants when it threatened to occur. At the same time, we proposed an alternative solution which would simply involve directly owning up to a feeling of being railroaded into a decision and wishing instead to discuss the matter further. If there were a positive reaction to this comment, one would go ahead to the discussion; if there were a negative reaction to the comment, the tutor would have the opportunity and challenge of raising the issue whether the group intended to create norms of coercion and conformity in its decision-making. This solution would present the tutor's feelings in an open-ended, non-manipulative, non-intellectualized way. Thus, we were advocating a position that directly countered the pattern of our behavior in advocating it.

Applicant A: "I object to the
#1 process of only considering one person when perhaps five people in the group feel differently but haven't said so. I think at least two people should be considered."

Director: "I think your aim is
#2 laudable. The issue is how..."

Applicant A: (interrupting) "But
#3 I think your idea of just saying something, I would think it would just humiliate the person. Your idea just isn't that important... Sort of stupid, I think."

Applicant B: "I think it would
#4 be somewhat unfair, if you are set in your opinion that he's incapable of it, to start in trying to manipulate it...I think you should give him a chance to see if he does have something..."

Applicant C: "If we discuss the
#5 office as I suggested, we'd get at problems without me imposing my will..."

Director: "The problem with what
#6 you are saying is not so much that it's manipulative but that it is intellectualized. It assumes that the kids are ready to talk on that level."

Applicant A (#1) takes our position but cannot see that our solution, too, would lead in the direction of considering another person by giving the group a chance to adjust itself to the tutor's openly expressed feeling. Instead, he attacks our solution (#3), apparently because honesty seems to imply attack of another to this applicant ('it would just humiliate').

Applicant B (#4) takes the 'pure' anti-manipulative position, but the only way he can remain pure is to do nothing ('power corrupts' is the implicit message).

Applicant C (#5) will remain pure by intellectualizing the problem, focusing on argument rather than the actual effect of his behavior.

#7 Applicant D: "I think it would be a better test to attack him frontally."

#8 Associate Director: "But aren't you worried about how he'll feel if you attack him in front of a whole group?"

#9 Applicant D: "Well, I think it's better than attacking him subtly. It seems fairer."

#10 Associate Director: "I'd be pretty nervous if I were attacked in front of a whole group."

#11 Applicant D: "I would too; but if you're worried about him being a rubber stamp, you're going to have to see if he can stand up."

#12 Associate Director: "You've got to remember that this kid has feelings too."

#13 Applicant E: "If he gets dumped, you've got to remember how he might feel. It might hurt him."

(The discussion continued in this vein for a time. Then I asked how people were feeling.)

#14 Applicant F: "It seems to me that exactly what you said shouldn't be done, you were doing."

#15 Applicant G: "You're putting us in a very vulnerable position and that's why we're being defensive."

Applicant D (#7) closes the circle of strategies available from this world view by advocating the 'brutal honesty' implicitly rejected by Applicant A.

Bob proceeds to 'attack him (Applicant D) in front of a whole group' (#8) while discouraging such behavior. That such behavior raises tensions in a group is substantiated by the group's nervous laughter (#16) when Applicant D claims he enjoyed being attacked.

After I ask how people are feeling, there is a slow gathering of momentum as applicants test to see whether the atmosphere has really changed. As we nod our acceptance and gesture for more comments without defending ourselves, the applicants vent their

#16 Applicant D: "I think I felt fine. (loud laughter) You might as well get into it."

#17 Applicant A: "I thought you were dumb."

#18 Applicant H: "I thought you were bad actors, but seeing your intention beneath the whole thing I felt great confidence in your ability to select us." (loud laughter)

#10 Applicant I: "I thought you were being unrealistic---I was angry."

#20 Applicant J: "I feel unfortunately most of us have reacted exactly the way you wanted us to react. I also feel as if you are putting us in an extremely unfair situation similar to a psych. experiment where the subject is fooled into giving the proper reaction."

#21 Director: "One of the feelings I have had is, 'Wow is this selection business an anxiety provoking process!' I wondered how can I create an atmosphere in which we can express our fears...we want to create two things in this atmosphere: disconfirmation of our critical view of ourselves, and support of a wish to do better... How can we break through the tendency to present oneself as competent during a selection process, when we never broke through it last spring until we reached the camp the first

frustration more directly - more attackingly. Interestingly, the comment by Applicant H (#18) sounded condemning at the outset, then turned into a backhanded compliment so at variance with others' expectations and predominant feelings that it evoked loud laughter.

I attempt to express my feelings non-defensively (#21), but end up saying a great deal. Given the emotional atmosphere its impact is probably restricted to sounding self-justifying.

night and we realized none of us knew how to handle the situation. We wanted to provoke two things in you: gut feelings for how students react to being helped; and to see how ordinary this kind of conversation is, how we help to sustain it, and don't know how to break out of the manipulative-defensive atmosphere."

Applicant K: "I'd like to just
#22 say that this whole test situation annoys me very much. It seems we've set up a very superficial atmosphere in this room right now. You talked about trust. If I have a feeling you've tricked me today, perhaps you're going to trick me tomorrow and I think this is not going to create an open atmosphere whatsoever."

Director: "I think that's sig-
#23 nificant. I think one of the costs of doing what we di did is setting up the atmosphere you just described."

Applicant L: "What bothered me was
#24 you talked about not manipulating and then you manipulated us. I know you've got to do it, but it would be better if we admitted we have to manipulate some."

Director: "...One of the things we
#25 need to learn is how to diagnose and do something about this kind of situation. One of the astounding things about us is

Certainly #22 is not persuaded by it. It is clear that the feelings aroused by our earlier behavior in combination with our invitation to express them will not be transformed by an explanation alone.

Even though we had predicted this result, it was surprising and scary to realize how limited was most people's understanding of the structure of behavior. There was no indication that they had participated in creating the atmosphere, no sense that they could share in controlling the level of trust by open risk-taking behavior. At the same time, my 'explaining' behavior (#21,25) is neither how we permit ourselves to be manipulated constantly because we don't know how to get ourselves out of the situation.

Your defensive reactions permit us to keep firing. I'm not saying it's all your responsibility. It's mine too, and I realize that for at least some of you I've built a small deficit."

Associate Director: "What I
#26 should say is that although I felt myself acting just now, the things I found easiest to act are probably the things I do unconsciously a lot of the time. So, if I manifest this behavior in the future it's not necessarily that I am playing a game (loud laughter) and I'll need your help."

as competent nor as effective as expressing some anger at the one-sidedness of their attacks might have been. (I rationalized not expressing such anger on the basis that it was late and there was not enough time.) Certainly, Rob's comment (#26) is more immediate and has more impact on the candidates, as suggested by the laughter, than my explanations. His comment illustrates directly, as most of the comments in this typescript do indirectly, that the structure of one's behavior is determined by the limits of one's immediate experiential awareness.

Dave Brown, who had joined the program as a researcher the week before the selection process began and had led the core staff through the blindfold exercise, decided at the last moment that he was also interested in applying to become a resident tutor for the summer. So he participated in the first meeting both as observer and as applicant. He later reported:

> As a prospective tutor, I found myself getting quite angry with Bill and Rob in spite of my advance warning. Like most others, however, I was unwilling to express my feelings during the meeting, and, in retrospect, perhaps I should have.

> I retreated instead into my observer role, giving Bill and Rob no immediate feedback and providing no example of openness to the other tutors.

By the time of the second general meeting, a week after the above exchange, all applicants had been interviewed, and the core staff had split them into four groups ranging from strong to weak prospects. [redacted] The interviews had seemed like significant occasions, quickly going to the important issues about the program and the individual applicants, fueled by the applications and the unresolved issues of the first general meeting. Core staff members felt challenged and elated, and discussed the specific interviews with one another, trying to experiment with more effective behaviors and to contact more regularly their immediate feelings in the midst of interactions. In general, the intimacy of the interviews seemed positive experiences for the applicants as well, stimulating and reassuring them after the more impersonal experience at the general meeting. Afterwards I felt very good about the groundwork that the original meeting and interviews had layed for our first hard work together at the small group meetings. My feeling was reinforced by the applicants' responses to a questionnaire which gauged their views of the selection process after the initial meeting and again after their interviews.

After the initial meeting they perceived the process as more intelligent than stupid, more deep than shallow, more sincere than insincere, more oepn than closed, and more effective than ineffective, but at the same time, not surprisingly, as more untrusting than trusting, more autocratic than democratic, and more cold than warm. After the interviews all the positive impressions became more positive, and the other impressions were reversed. Now the selection process was viewed as very trusting, democratic and warm.

Besides this general confirmation of the effectiveness of these early events, interesting differences emerged between the responses of the applicants evaluated as strong and weak by the core staff.*

Those whom we evaluated as weak perceived the general meeting as significantly more negative (e.g. tense, upsetting, muddled) than did those whom we evaluated as strong (Mann-Whitney U Test, significant beyond .00003 level). Also, the magnitude of the changes of perception from the general meeting to after their interviews was greater among the weak candidates than among the strong (Sign test, significant beyond .03 level). These data may correspond with the finding that persons who focus merely on concrete aspects of situations are initially less accurate in orienting themselves to new social climates, and then change more on the basis of additional information than persons who focus on abstract relationships (Bieri, 1961). A more specific indication of the plausibility of this interpretation is that, unlike the strong candidates, those whom we evaluated as relatively weak saw the initial meeting as very unprincipled and very unclear, but changed their views greatly after the interviews. They were apparently incapable of "seeing [our] intention beneath the whole thing" (#18-p.237) initially. These data suggest to me that the core staff's initial evaluation did have the effect of differentiating persons more and less capable of self-directed learning into the strong and weak groups.

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*Our evaluation occurred before these data were analyzed.

MY MEETING WITH THE WEAK CANDIDATES

I met with the applicants evaluated as weak at the second meeting. [redacted] In retrospect, it seems obvious that, having the most skill to help a group become aware of its behavior, I should have met with the 'strong' candidates at this critical meeting when we hoped to begin enacting the kind of group process we wished to encourage for the summer. In this way I would have been working with the persons most likely to apply their learning later as staff members. I did not do so because the other core staff members were reluctant to take on the embarassingly confrontive role of openly sharing our evaluation with the 'weak' applicants. Feeling that because the whole selection process was primarily my idea I should be willing to take the hard role, and also feeling that it would not be as hard for me as for others, I agreed to meet with the 'weak' candidates. So my conflictedness about taking a lead in structuring the situation led me to undermine its chance for effectiveness.

The following partial transcript and commentary shows how I undertook the task and how radically candidates' behavior varied in this situation which blatantly required self-orientation.

241 cont.

Ben: #1 What do you want us to talk about? What do you want us to say? I mean I don't understand?

Me: #2 I'm not sure. I think I've told you what I hoped w[illegible] do, but I didn't bring you here to make you do anything.

Ben: #3 Oh, I know that.

Me: #4 I'm uncertain. I can only see where you want to go. I feel I've done my part. We've made a preliminary evaluation. I'm willing to go anywhere you want.

Greg: #5 Okay. How do we get out of our preliminary evaluation?

Ben begins proactively to try to orient himself, but at the same time assumes that I hold the key to the group's orientation, in the sense of an answer. I try to disconfirm this expectation, while at the same time trying to disclose the cognitive map I have which makes collaborative goal-setting by the whole group sensible to me. I wish to be disclosing and opening, but not directing. In such a climate the candidates may display and gain an awareness of

Author: #6 I guess I'd have to be convinced you understood the evaluation. Then, either I'd have to see behavior that made me revise my judgment--of course you're free to come back next week anyway--or you'd have to make a strong commitment to work on yourself. It depends too on the issue with the specific person--is the problem goals or skills or interpersonal style?

Sam: #7 One of the weaknesses is that we are not with you when you consider the applications, and I think that could be very valuable if you really want to make it a two-way experience. Personally, I feel left out. Nothing is written on me. I would have been interested to have been there.

Author: #8 We didn't consider them very much together. In your case, it was mostly me. I'm primarily responsible for your evaluation; it's true you don't know what I thought because it's not written, but I feel perfectly ready to let you know.

Sam: #9 Well...I don't think that's worth doing now, but can we do it after we're finished?

Author: #10 That's a problem for me: I hoped to be able to respond here because of limited resources and time; I would prefer to do it here if

behavior conducive to self-directed learning.

Ben and Greg have begun exploring the possibilities, testing the limits of the situation. Sam (#7) on the other hand, begins by judging the process as though he could not now control it. Realizing that our process must have mistakes and must be threatening, I try to continue disclosing relevant information as well as describing my orientation rather than being defensive. Sam seems to have reached a point of emotional ambivalence: he wants to be in on a group discussion of his evaluation, yet he doesn't want to take the present opportunity.

possible. If there's a problem about doing it as a group, maybe we could do it individually.

Ben: #11 With me individually, I recognize what they say is wrong with me, but I don't see any way I could change it. It says 'naive', 'vague'. That's a real weakness. I'd like to know how to overcome it. I'm at a loss.

Author: #12 That reaction shows our judgments aren't punitive. It's not a fault not to know. I'm working from a few words--'strong' is not having an answer but a way of not having one; in your case you gave us the impression that you might not act at all rather than acting while staying open to rethinking your action. Now how do you work on that? I think it's rare to do so, but if you can get in a situation where you can experiment with your behavior a lot you might get the feel for acting deliberately and openly without knowing the answer beforehand.

Bill: #13 I'd be interested in the characteristics of the strong candidates.

Author: #14 That's hard; they're dissing that now; and we're not clear about our criteria. Let's see: I'd say a kind of potency or inner energy that comes through is one; great competence, especially in one area,

Ben (#11) seems more accepting of whatever has happened and ready to start working in the present moment.

would be another for me because I think one realizes one's limits then; an ability to be supportive of others in expressing themselves rather than attacking; openness to the results of experience; willing to fit concepts to experience, rather than just intellectualizing on the one hand or saying thought is irrelevant to action on the other hand; an ability to experience and express emotions without identifying with them completely and letting them control you, but permitting them to influence your behavior.

Sam: #15 You're going to get all this in a 25 minute interview? You should have alternative ways of judging. You may just get a person who comes over in an interview. I haven't seen the interviewers even admit the limitedness of the method.

Greg: #16 At my interview I came uncertain about what was going on and became more certain. You tole me to think about what I could contribute and I did. Now I sort of feel on the Group W Bench. Should I make out a list? I'm trying to find our what's appropriate. Are we supposed to defend ourselves?

Sam: #17 To put it stronger, there has to be a feeling around that the selection process is a little off, but I think it stinks.

Sam (#15) overtly expresses much less feeling than seems to be churning inside him. The result is that he denies the reality of the present meeting as an 'alternative' way of judging. By contrast, Greg (#16) expresses his discomfort much more clearly without attributing responsibility for their arousal to an external source.

Now (#16,18) participants are beginning to respond to one another rather than through me, taking responsibility for

Sam: (cont.) It just doesn't
#17 hit right that my application was only read by one person. It's just not reasonable that you would make your selection purely arbitrary, which is what it turns out to be.

Ben: I don't think it's been
#18 arbitrary with me. I can recognize myself in what they say about me. I mean it hurts; it really hurts. You know, I don't make good grades either, but I can slough that off. But it hurts because I figure that their selection process wasn't arbitrary and was based on things that I think are important, that I care about.

Sam: True, but I feel if you're
#19 going to play psychologist, you do it right. You drag in a clinical psychologist and you test and you evaluate without amateurs.

Greg: I think we've had psycho-
#20 logical terms bandied about. It seems there's a psychological basis underlying all this...I'm not saying how sound it is, but there seems to be a consciousness of psychology involved, and the main thing that bothered me is how fast the process is.

Author: Yeah.
#21

Bill: It seems to me your problem is
#22 you can't take everybody that exists and therefore you have to find ways to exclude. Two of

their differential perceptions and orientations and testing them rather than awaiting my response.

They have moved a step further from external direction towards self-direction. Although Sam's behavior is striking me as systematically obstructing his own and the group's possibilities for self-orienting learning I choose to let the group interaction develop rather than to confront him personally at this point.

Now (#22) Bill plunges into the conversation, as condemning as Sam and even

#22 Bill: (cont.) your criteria involve making it easier for the interviewer. I see my fault now; I didn't make it easy for the interviewer because I think interviews are a pack of shit. So the sentence I got back was that I was a typical bourgeois revolutionary. Now what does that mean?

#23 Author: As a matter of fact, your interviewer liked you a lot and didn't want you in this group particularly. What were the categories making it easier for the interviewer?

#24 Bill: Being supportive and seeing your past life in concepts rather than facts so the interviewer could categorize you too.

#25 Author: I think you've interpreted them quite differently from me...

#26 Bill: (interrupting) such as bourgeois revolutionary.

#27 Greg: Well, look...

#28 Bill: (interrupting) which may be an honest category. I'm just not that familiar with it.

#29 Greg: I would prefer to take that 'category' as seeing trends in what I've done.

#30 Author: The only way I can respond--I see you as expressing a lot of aggression towards the judgments we've

more willing (#24) to treat his interpretations as objective truths about what has happened. If the reader feels that Sam and Bill's behavior are unusually extreme, I can only respond that both were students in good standing at Yale with a history of creative contributions to organizations at school and during the summers. My point is that the blatant differences between the effects of their behaviors and Ben and Greg's behaviors on the group atmosphere may never have surfaced before because they may never have been in situations in which self-orienting learning was encouraged by the organizational structure and group leader.

I confront Bill and Sam (#30) because I see them as deviating from a model of behavior conducive to self-directed

Author: (cont.) made and which
#30 you claim we haven't shared with you. And yet as I see this session it could be for sharing information and I don't see myself as hindering that process right now. I see you all as hindering it (addressing Bill and Sam). I don't feel terribly moved by what you're saying.

Mark: I have a question: here it
#31 says, 'shot down, but comes back with the same thing.'

Author: As I remember you said
#32 you hoped to learn just by living through the summer and I said some people lived through their whole life without learning, so I thought more definite learning goals were necessary, but you repeated the same thing. Do you remember that differently?

Mark: No, it's pretty much like
#33 you said.

Ben: Is what you're telling us that
#34 we don't have the emotional and intellectual qualities you want?

Author: I guess I would say a
#35 different thing to each of you. One of you has simply never been here before. What I'm saying to him is that at this point I see it as his responsibility to do something about it because all I've got is an application form to go on.

learning. Although my comments have a powerful impact on the group, I actually do not develop my feeling of anger clearly (in fact, my last sentence [#30] is almost a denial of feeling). So, although the comment seems to free up the group to get down to business (Mark talks for the first time and something of a group decision occurs [#38-42]), I may have missed a chance to make my perceptions and reactions to what was going on as clear as this commentary makes them.

Ben: That's what's important to me.
#36 I think that's the problem with
this meeting--I don't know how
personal to make it. I want to
be a teacher, so I want to know
why I was rejected so I can
decide whether to work for GE
instead.

Author: I see getting at that as a
#37 possibility and I would like
to, but I'm scared that most
here would prefer to stay
general.

Greg: I would like to do my part to
#38 dispel that impression. I don't
know how you can get personal
in a group, but I don't see any
other way.

Author: Let me check: I find a group
#39 helpful in responding immediate-
ly to the impression I create
and that's relevant to our summer
experience since we will be work-
ing in groups; but I can imagine
that some might prefer not to and
I don't want to force them...I'd
feel comfortable going ahead and
letting some contribute, some not.

Bill: Shoot. (addressed to the Author)
#40

Author: Why doesn't whoever wants to...
#41

Greg: Okay. I'll start. Can you tell
#42 me more specifically why I
didn't come on stronger?

Greg and Ben went on to explore with me and the group the core staff's evaluations of them and their views of education on the basis of their experiences. Later in the meeting I told Ben and Greg that I felt very influenced to reconsider my evaluation of them on the basis of their exploratory, self-directing behavior.

My response to Ben and Greg was partially an attempt to exemplify concretely the criteria I was using for distinguishing among the applicants. My perspective was lost on at least one of the participants (who did not speak in the foregoing transcript). Immediately after my description of how Ben's and Greg's behavior had influenced my evaluation of them, this applicant announced resignedly that he could not understand the purpose of this meeting, since it was clear that the core staff had made the final decisions and there did not seem to be any way they, the applicants, could influence that decision. The meeting ended shortly after this.

Again, other measures confirmed my impression that Ben and Greg behaved differently from Sam and Bill. Aggregate behavior scores for the part of the session appearing in the transcript (using the same Argyris system as we had applied to the core staff meetings) show that Sam and Bill expressed only one non-coercive, non-condemnatory feeling between them, tried no experiments, helped no one else, and contributed far more strongly to negative group norms than to positive ones. Ben's and Greg's behavior was considerably more positive.

While I was meeting with the 'weak' candidates, Dave Brown had been pressed into service because of his interpersonal skills to meet with the "strong" group because Rob had had to leave town suddenly. He was now in the anomalous and, as he reports below, confusing position of juggling three roles: researcher, applicant, and staff leader:

> At the next meeting I found myself in the ambiguous position of being asked to lead the discussion of a group of tutor candidates classified as 'strong' on the basis of their interviews. I agreed without really understanding whether I was tutor, consultant, or

staff for the occasion. I articulated my confusion about my role to the group I "led", which increased their confusion and irritation with the staff.

I think the level of trust of the staff (and of me, as peripherally identified with them) was pretty low; the task of establishing criteria for tutor selection had been "suggested" to us, and the group remained apathetic to doing so (at least partly, perhaps, because establishing new criteria might undermine our own currently-favored status, if real). On the whole, the interaction focused on guessing why the staff had put us in the "strong" category rather than why they should put us there.

I felt pretty incompetent in the situation; not only did I not know what part I was supposed to be playing, I could not decide what issues to concentrate on--whether to pursue the "task" as outlined or to pursue various other issues that arose. Written reactions of the tutors to the meeting were generally positive; my notes record that I thought people felt unable to express their negative feelings in the comments.

THE FINAL MEETING AND DECISION

The week after the small group meetings the final selection session was held. By this time some of the forty-five original applicants had eliminated themselves (for example, all but Ben and Greg in the weak group), but over thirty were still interested in the fifteen available positions.

A questionnaire before the final session indicated that candidates saw the selection process as more ambiguous than definite, but as increasing their internal commitment to the program. On two dimensions the strong candidates varied significantly from the rest (in both cases, Mann-Whitney U, significant beyond .05 level). They saw the selection process as tending to reinforce their previous attitudes, whereas the other applicants regarded it as revealing something new to them. This finding again accords with research showing that additional information tends to reinforce the attitudes of cognitively complex persons. Ironically given our interest in encouraging self-direction, but understandably given Dave Brown's report of their behavior at the second meeting, the strong applicants also saw the selection process as more controlling of them (equally controlling of them as influenceable by them) than did the other applicants. This may be because other applicants were able to take the initiative to return despite a qualified or negative evaluation of them by the core staff, whereas the strong applicants' return had been more directly determined (controlled) by the core staff's initial evaluation of them as strong.

At this final meeting I asked for a collaborative decision among three possible selection-decision processes, ranging from a fully collaborative decision within a framework devised by the core staff, to one in which the core staff made the decisions however it wished. After an extensive debate during which the benefits and limits of collaborative decision-making were explored, the group chose (by majority straw vote, ratified by the rest) to have the core staff decide. The core staff eliminated some applicants from consideration immediately on the basis of our evaluations after the small group meetings. This decisiveness on our part seemed to surprise the applicants, who may have assumed that our interest in collaborative decision-making correlated with an inability to make decisions.

The final act in the process occurred late the same evening and involved another small group meeting with those applicants about whom we were still uncertain. The core staff fed back its impressions and uncertainties about each applicant, and applicants attempted to provide additional data about themselves, confronted one another, or experimented. As in my meeting with the weak applicants, we felt that the various participants differentiated themselves in terms of their propensity to engage in self-directing behavior and made our final choices accordingly.

This summary, however, conveys none of the ironic and foreboding flavor of the final selection meeting. Again, Dave Brown's perspective provides more insight:

> The final selection meeting ran from 4:00 P.M. until late evening. Bill began by raising the issue of decision-making processes, making clear his own commitment to collaborative selection of tutors as a means of practicing collaboration and giving non-punishing feedback. Discussion ensued, primarily aimed at Bill. Eventually I suggested that Bill was defending collaborative process against everyone; a quick check of hands indicated that about 70% opposed collaborative evaluation, and slowly consensus emerged in favor of listing the twenty-odd candidates currently favored by the staff, allowing others to stay on if they wished. Control over the rest of the evening's activities was surrendered to the staff.
>
> After a collective supper in the lounge, Bill fed back some data gathered in the afternoon session, and then began to discourse on the helping relationship. The response of the tutors to both topics was minimal; I found myself withdrawing, bored, and on the verge of sleep. In retrospect it seemed that we had regressed considerably in surrendering the decision-making power to the staff, and were now passively awaiting the axe. Eventually, thoroughly nervous about the possibility of offending Bill, I interrupted his discourse to remark that I was bored and didn't understand the jargon he was using, and thought others were in similar shape. Some mild confirmation from others followed.
>
> Then Bill raised the issue of selection criteria, and shortly the tutors were sniping at him and the staff enthusiastically. Renewed tutor interest in controlling the events of the evening, with an eye to discomfitting the staff, led to a decision

> to meet without them for half an hour. An hour later the tutors returned from two group meetings to announce various resolutions about the program, most of them involving demands and accusations of the staff.
>
> In general, the tutors were very pleased with their meetings, seeing them as the source of much more closeness than had yet been attained within the program; the mechanism for attaining the closeness seemed largely that of defining the staff as an external enemy and devoting the group's energy to planning strategy for dealing with them. Out of the anti-staff harangue from these meetings came the somewhat paradoxical decision to give the staff complete control of tutor selection. In spite of the staff's "manipulation," "lousy criteria," and "unwillingness to take charge," the tutors forced them to take responsibility for evaluation and selection. They devalued the staff's ability to make decisions and then ducked the responsibility themselves, avoiding the responsibility while leaving an out if they were injured--the staff's incompetence. My experimental intervention to the effect that we might be ducking an unpleasant but useful task sank without a ripple, and I drifted along with the tide.
>
> One final session with people still considered marginal by the staff led to perhaps the most open meeting to date. For some time passivity reigned, but the staff's openness about their reservations compelled some tutors to demonstrate new behaviors, several very successfully. Confrontation as individualsinstead of as a group helped the meeting get off the ground, and probably the fact of eight hours of meeting before thatleft all of us exhausted contributed to the lowering of the barriers.

Afterwards, the core staff was able to come to its final decisions collaboratively, with only one case of significant disagreement. The disagreement occurred over Mal Helal, the person whom we knew best since he had been on the staff the previous summer. In many ways, Mal had performed well in his role: he had been dedicated to the students, coming to Yale through the Yale Summer High School himself from a poverty background; he had overseen production of our school paper, The Ghetto, and the reader will recall that he also played a prominent organizing role in the incident surrounding the first newspaper article. Ray and Valery now strongly urged rehiring Mal.

Tim and I felt equally strongly that we ought not to rehire Mal. We regarded him as increasingly rigid, brittle, dominating, and hostile in his relations to others and therefore likely to be more destructive than constructive in the context of our program. We cited a number of incidents suggesting these qualities. One was his temper tantrum the summer before when some students playfully grabbed his cap off his head and began playing keep-away with it. When they saw that his dignity was actually wounded by their humor, they took a further step, picking him up writhing and screaming furiously, and gently deposited him in a large bush. Mal spent the next two days in a vile temper, threatening the students impotently to return his hat, and imploring me to take some sort of strong action against them. Another troublesome issue was his implacable histility to Tim, carricaturing him privately and publicly in Black Muslim rhetoric. Furthermore, he publicly disavowed the central aims and procedures of the program and showed no openness in private to feedback about his impact on others. Finally, his withdrawal from two courses at Yale during the fall term suggested to us that he was ceasing to act effectively even in conventional terms.

Ray and Valery accused Tim and me of opposing Mal on racial and political grounds, since his black militancy was increasingly evident. Rob mediated, but tended to favor rehiring Mal despite reservations. Fearing that I might indeed be rejecting Mal because of his conflict-oriented personal style, I finally agreed to rehire him, thereby taking my customary conciliatory role. I have regretted ever since that I could not sustain the conflict and insist on Tim's and my view. For later events were to convince me again and again that we had been right.

OVERVIEWS

In retrospect, I can summarize the steps of the selection process as follows: First, in the initial meeting, we tried to "give" the applicants our understanding of behavior conducive to self-directed learning but with the twist that we exposed the contradiction in "giving" self-direction to them. Next, in the small group meetings, we tried to "structure" a situation which encouraged and rewarded experiments in individual self-orientation; but we still controlled the setting of the situation so we were in effect, demanding self-direction from them. Finally, in determining the selection decision-making process, core staff and applicants became collaboratively self-directing together.

These three stages may represent three elements or moments in the transition to self-direction, [illegible] each moment falling into self-contradiction and revealing the next. The core staff planned the first self-contradiction, but did not fully realize the second until after the meetings of the second week.

It was undoubtedly overambitious to hope that we could negotiate these three stages into a new reality in three meetings, especially given the still-limited competence of our core staff to exemplify and inspire self-direction and of members of a group unaccustomed to this mode. In any event, there are indications that we did not negotiate these three stages in a way that helped many of future staff members to recognize them and find significance in them for their future conduct with students. The most obvious of these indications is the decision at the third meeting to abandon the collaborative process at the first moment of full collaboration.

and the subsequent alternations by the applicants between flighting and fighting against the core staff. The core staff itself was shaken by these events. Again, Dave Brown reports.

> After the marathon meeting, I wrote up my observations for the staff. In subsequent discussion, the core staff seemed to agree with my perceptions to some extent about the "dehumanizing process" through which the tutors "were put," and the good tutors who may have been missed. They seemed to feel pretty guilty about the evaluations forced on them by the tutors, and anxious to project that guilt into Bill, who seemed willing to accept it.
>
> I felt quite uncomfortable during the meeting, in spite of my freedom from the burden of the decision-making, probably because I was having trouble understanding what seemed to be a violent attack on Bill; subsequently I was congratulated on the feedback as having "really shaken people up."
>
> On the whole, it appears that both staff and tutors were a little shaken by the selection process, and understandably so. One major underlying process seemed to be the tendency to place the responsibility for the unpleasantness in someone else, which can lead to some problems. The tutors tended to blame the staff; the staff tended to blame Bill. Who Bill blames remains unclear to me; I suspect he tends more to be willing to carry it all, which may lead to difficulties.

REARVIEWS

Was I too willing to carry the blame? The process did not seem blame-worthy to me. I could accept responsibility for its results. Why could not others? Even if we failed in its short duration to influence significantly the applicants' understanding and practice of self-directed collaboration, I felt (and still feel) certain that we had succeeded generally in identifying and choosing the applicants most likely to be self-directing and had created an environment with difficulties analogous to those of the summer. Evidently, many members of the core staff and many

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of the applicants found the conditions of open evaluation too harshly revealing to learn from, for it showed up unmercifully persons' uncertainties and the limited, sometimes inexplicable, information we commonly use to make decisions. In pyramidal, bureaucratic structures, the secrecy and distance which exists between decision-makers and those whose fate they are influencing makes it possible to maintain the fiction that fully rational decisions are being made and are to be expected. To the extent that one internalizes this fiction of rationality, it becomes difficult to accept the relatively irrational truth-of-the-situation as revealed through an open, time-constrained, evaluative process such as our selection procedure. And to this extent too, persons will regard the attainment of rationality-in-living as a task they have already achieved by virtue of being human, rather than as a task they must commence in order to become fully human. Consequently, to the extent that one has internalized the fiction of rationality, one will tend to dissociate oneself from evidence of imperfection by blaming it on some "external" agent or on some internal "conspiracy."

If this analysis is correct, what should I have done in the complex, ironic situation in which I found myself? On the one hand, I felt there were many real problems with the ambition and the execution of the selection process. Indeed, others' discomfiture during and after the final meeting made me all the more uncertain about its validity. Yet, on the other hand, I felt a strong commitment to, and certainty about, the basic aspirations and direction of the structure we had created and regarded many of the

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2.

attacks against it as deriving not from its inefficacy, but rather precisely from a combination of its efficacy and others' uncertain commitment to the kinds of learning it demanded of them. To add still further to the kinds of uncertainty that permeated this moment, I was radically uncertain that saying anything, no matter how clear, would make any difference, given persons' emotionality.

Since this occasion, and largely as a result of it and of other events during the second spring and summer of Upward Bound, I have come to realize what to others may seem incredibly obvious: in emotional moments, one must speak emotionally to be heard at all clearly. The cool voice of reason acts at such moments not to illuminate and clarify, but rather as a match to oily water, extinguished by the water and converted into a blazing smoke screen by the oil. True, most persons tend to become increasingly unclear and increasingly selfish as they become increasingly emotional because they have not worked to integrate thought and feeling; but one of the challenges of committing oneself to rationality-in-living--that is, to increasingly living out the truth-of-the-situation--is to appreciate those moments of crisis when a strong stand, a hot word rather than a cool word, is necessary to clarify the situation.

Should I have met the blaming released in others by the selection process with anger? I didn't. Instead, outwardly I turned to fatalism and sadness, not anger. And inwardly I turned to struggle all the harder to see how I shared in creating the disharmonious results.

In this spirit, I can now feel the ideal formality with which the whole selection process was suffused, in plan and implementation. I feel a vaguely inhuman and hybristic quality in it.

Not that planning liberating structures to encourage persons to transcend themselves must necessarily be hybristic. But rather that the planners and implementators of such a structure must themselves have experienced the "going under" before one's antithesis and the "going over" into a higher synthesis before they can hope to help others through the same process.

In my case, I had "gone under" in my broken-off love relationship before the program, but rather than fully accepting that and next "going over" to full relationships with others, I had withdrawn a vital part of myself and retrogressed to my previous innocence. An innocence which I masked from myself better than from others by my facility for "going over" by means of synthetic thought.

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XII GLAD TIDINGS

Spring vacation intervened between the end of the selection process and the first meeting of the new tutors.

The day before the meeting, Martin Luther King's assassination also intervened.

Black groups called a meeting on the New Haven Green.

When I reached the Green an hour before our own meeting was to begin, a strange, schizophrenic scene and mood greeted me. The crowd of several thousand was perhaps two-thirds black, the blacks concentrated around the rostrum, the whites scattered around the fringes. Only blacks spoke and, for the most part, their rhetoric was the most incindiary I had ever heard. A fierce sense of unity, a menacing elation, seemed to grip the blacks, making the isolated white mourners feel all the more misplaced.

When I reached our own small meeting, no blacks were present. Subdued and paralyzed by their absence, we discussed the assassination in somber, purposeless tones. Cylia, whom I saw as vibrant and skilled, but still tentative about what she could bear, spoke in wilted terms of resigning because it was inappropriate for a white girl to be a staff member in a predominantly black program.

Forty-five minutes later, most of the black tutors and a few more whites arrived, the meeting on the Green having dispersed As Dave Brown remembered it:

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> The meeting really began with a rejection of a white offering by a militant black tutor. The whole issue of the assassination seemed to inspire the blacks and depress the whites, and the atmosphere was not one in which it was easy to be really open about

> feelings. To some extent it became a sort of a black inquisition into the white feelings, an uncomfortable situation at best. Bill raised the issue of black nationalism's effect on the program, and I suggested, in connection with early interchange in which I saw whites being punished by blacks, that the issue of continued communication across racial boundaries was crucial to me. My comments were seen as an "admission" of weakness by some of the black tutors, but we were unable to explore the dominance-submission implications of that perception. At least for this meeting, the authority issue was submerged in the issue of racial boundaries; the spectre of guerilla warfare in the cities and perhaps in the program was raised...

I remember trying to be concerned and competent at that meeting, but I block all other memories out. I suspect that, faced with an event so much more cataclysmic than anything I might influence, a subliminal cycle was acting itself out in me, a cycle which I had captured in my journal a month before:

> As a leader, I have the sense that I am wholly responsible for the group's success/failure. Consequently, I make such an effort to assure success that I don't give others a chance to blame me, which may be a prerequisite to sharing responsibility for failure, which may be a prerequisite to becoming internally committed to success, which may be a prerequisite to risking, experimenting, and trusting.
>
> So, having cut off all these possibilities for others, I then feel burdened, disappointed, unlistened to and unresponded to, and incompetent.
>
> Which feeds back into increasing tension and anxiety to assure success.

The core staff had divided responsibility for the spring's activities among ourselves such that Valery took charge of student admissions, Rob of selecting and training the teachers, and Tim of developing the tutor group. This superficially rational scheme was quickly twisted out of recognition by the strong dynamics within the tutor group. It began to seem divisive to have the teachers meeting separately from the tutors. And Tim's unpopularity among the tutors sucked Rob and myself into an increasing number of their meetings. This trend began after the second meeting, which Tim led.

TIM'S MEETING

Tim began the meeting by saying that he sensed uneasiness among the new tutors about their degree of involvement in the planning of the program. He therefore suggested that they might want to discuss what they wanted to do, both during the spring meetings and during the summer. This evoked a series of questions: what are the students like? what decisions have already been made? are there any written materials on the program? what are we going to do? Tim responded briefly, characterizing the students and their new, precarious commitment to academic learning, noting the division of responsibilities among the core staff, and indicating that the teachers would be meeting separately from the tutors for the first part of the spring, so that the former could concentrate on structuring the curriculum while the latter focused on structuring the non-curricular aspects of the school.

Whether this response was too concentrated, too abstract, or too anxiety-provoking, it did not end the questioning. Tim's answers may have left too large a territory of uncertainly and freedom of choice, and the tutor's continuing anger at and distrust of the core staff might have prevented them from trusting Tim. Or perhaps, given their continuing unfamiliarity with collaborative decision-making, as well as their recent difficult and inconclusive brush with collaboration in the selection process, they simply did not know, and preferred to delay finding out, how to begin working collaboratively. In any event, the next five tutors who spoke asked the very same questions all over again, while Tim tried to highlight their own ability to work out answers to the questions: "There seems to be a question about what will be in your hands, what out; I was going to follow with the question, what would you like to be in your hands?"

Several tutors began at once to mutter further questions in a more antagonistic tone. Tim, responding more, I think, to the tone than to the content of the questions, capitulated with a resigned "Oh, okay," and gave a much longer description of the students, with examples. This encouraged a further string of questions from the tutors, until Zack, who seemed to combine brash confidence with a willingness to acknowledge confusion directly, turned to the others rather than to Jim and asked, "How are we going to reverse the (public) schools' process and free these guys' intelligence without their running wild?" Other tutors responded. It was suggested that the students ought to be given responsibility, that one ought to find out what they wanted to do, that one had to discipline them strictly.

For the first time the tutors were talking to one another rather than at the core staff!

But this resulted in a further increase of tension, for they emasculated one another's contributions by interruptions and competitive, dogmatic statements such as "You've got to meet the kid where he is," "That's not true," "All right, hold it." And when Tim was asked whether the previous summer had been successful, he raised the tension still further by returning another question about that person's criteria of success. Hostile laughter from the group indicated they viewed Tim's question as a put-down, so he tried to show his genuine concern by following with "I'm serious. Yea, it worked, depending on what you mean by 'work'." With this encouragement, the tutor who had asked the question in the first place formulated several criteria of success, but was interrupted by other tutors before Tim could respond.

Eventually, Tim reviewed the issues which had been raised for the tutors who had entered the meeting late. Someone suggested trying to decide how to handle some concrete cases of problems with students, but was superceded by another tutor with "I'd still like to know what decisions have been made."

This comment finally succeeded in breaking through Tim's constructive orientation, and he replied, not with direct anger, but with heavy, antagonistic sarcasm, "Given the vast importance of the question of decisions, we can go into that now, though I'm very unclear about what other decisions have been made." He then gave a history of our evolving way of working with the students in the program.

ROLE-PLAYING

When several tutors suggested pat solutions to the practical problems of getting students to bed at night and out of bed in the morning, Tim challenged them to role-play their solutions. He himself would take the student's role. Zack volunteered to try, hesitated, stumbled, and immediately gave up as Tim put his head down on the table showing no intention of beginning or cooperating with Zack's effort to arouse him. "The only way I'm going to get you out is hit you and I don't want to do that." To which Tim responded confidently, "Go ahead. I can probably take it, and if I can't my two roommates will get you." This led to an interchange about the occasional need for charismatic forcefulness to prevent violent forcefulness. Zack concluded with dejected openness, "It's really something I'm going to have to learn."

Tim pursued the issue, encouraging Zack to use the role-play as a learning opportunity rather than deciding he couldn't do the role-play until he learned. Zack agreed to try again, fumbled around trying to define the situation precisely and rehearse his argument until Tim interrupted: "Instead of trying to define your argument, why don't you just test it out?" Zack's nervousness about the approaching confrontation evoked laughter from the rest of the group. He barged over to Tim and shook him, shouting, "Jesus, what's the story! Why..."

"Keep your mother fucking hand to yourself, baby," Tim shot back in a sleepy but charged tone. A long, shocked silence ended with another, more hesitant start by Zack, the obvious inadequacy of which drew another round of laughter from the group. This led Zack to several denials that such a situation would ever arise.

Other tutors tried to role-play a curfew situation together with similar obvious lack of success and similar denials afterwards that such a situation was likely to occur.

Mal attacked role-playing as acting rather than genuinely being oneself. Zack, in turn, defended role-playing as having taught him the scale of the problems he would have to deal with and the inadequacy of his approaches. The meeting ended.

During the week I transcribed the tape of the meeting and scored it, using Argyris' procedure. Needless to say, the resulting profile looked much more like the "natural" groups Argyris had studied than like our core staff group. Compared to the core staff group, the level of conformity-producing behavior was high and direct expression of personal feelings was very low. In fact, Tim was the only person at the meeting who expressed direct feelings at any time. If we divide the meeting at the point where Tim sarcastically said, "Given the vast importance of the question of decisions..." we find an interesting contrast. Before that point (the first three-fifths of the meeting), fifteen statements tended to generate norms of conformity or antagonism, and Tim contributed one of these. In the final two-fifths of the meeting, twenty-four statements reinforced norms of conformity or antagonism, and Tim contributed eleven of these. Thus, the tutors really had succeeded in breaking through Tim's constructive orientation.

Of course, it might be argued that the increase in negativity was due to the negative situations that were being role-played, rather than to negativity among members of the tutor group and between Tim and the tutors. But there are several kinds of evidence to suggest that, in fact, just the reverse was true: that the role-playing was not cause but effect, that it became a vehicle for expressing hositilities within the group. These kinds of evidence include: the context of hostility before and after this meeting; the analogical quality of the problems protrayed in the role-playing and the problems existing between tutors and the core staff; the pressure that led Tim to become sarcastic; Tim's own acknowledgement when we reviewed these findings that he had been out for revenge on the tutors during the role-playing.

One positive result of this incident was that Tim and I could agree in reviewing it that he had shown limitations in interpersonal competence. I was impressed both by his ability at the outset of the meeting to reflect the issues underlying tutors' questions without himself being sucked into antagonism and by the powerful genuineness of his role-playing later. At the same time, I felt he was so reluctant to become "the authority" that when he did answer questions his manner tended to be punishing, which may partially have accounted for the tutors inability to 'hear' his answers. Also, when he did become angry, he was unable to be direct about it.

Our agreement about these limitations held special significance because we had conversed ten days earlier about choosing the next director of the program. Tim had felt he should be the next director because of his commitment to and experience in the program and the New Haven community. I had said I thought the next director should be black, should be 'established' enough to hold the respect of the Yale administration, and should be capable of behaving his philosophy; and I did not believe Tim met any of these criteria. Tim had agreed easily that he did not meet the first two criteria, but questioned how important they were, especially the second one. As to behaving his philosophy, he agreed he was far from perfect, but felt he was competent and open and committed enough to correct mistakes when he made them. After his tutor meeting, he realized that others' hostilities and fears of the unknown could still trap him. (Of course, as the rest of the spring and summer would show, as well as the next several years of American history, he was hardly extraordinary in that regard. I can now see how my outwardly humble but covertly overconfident sense of my own competence tinged my conclusions).

THE ROLE OF RESEARCH

At the next meeting, the same questions were raised about what decisions had already been made. Tim and I both tried to be more responsive than he had been at the previous meeting while still focusing on tutors' ability to influence the structure significantly. Eventually, Dave Brown suggested that it might be easier to express interests and explore directions if we broke into sub-groups. This suggestion was first ignored, then resisted, then ignored again. But Dave and Tim and I would not forget it without a clear group decision about it. The group then decided to accept the suggestion. The small groups were enthusiastic, enjoyable, and informative, generating much the same atmosphere as had the small groups of applicants during the selection process. The divergence that emerged among the concerns of the tutors formed the basis for an eventual differentiation between resident tutors and teaching assistants.

In the final forty-five minutes, Dave Brown, myself, and two other fellow students in a graduate class wished to propose some research to the tutors on the group's functioning, which we hoped they would find valuable. Dave Brown had already constructed a short (one minute) questionnaire to measure tutors' perceptions of the core staff and core staff perceptions of the tutors. The results were to be returned and discussed at the following meeting as an example of how research could help us gain insight into creating more effective relationships. Although most of the tutors filled out the questionnaire, with the vocal exception of Mal Helal, there was considerable antagonism to all research as academic, abstract, not valuable, irrelevant to the students, and imposed on them as a fait accompli. My attempts to explicate the insights into their previous meeting afforded by scoring it, to explain that they in fact had a choice about whether we did the research, and to suggest that they were not guinea pigs for someone else's theories but instead could share in developing helpful theories from the data--all these words seemingly fell on deaf ears. Randy said he couldn't stand all this meeting about meetings, and Lawrence said he was majoring in experimental social psychology, and research was fine in its place, but "anything you do that does not help the kids is sinful as far as I'm concerned."

Dave Brown summarized the outcome as follows:

> It seems clear that we erred magnificently in our presentation of our research to the tutors. We were heard as presenting a fait accompli (and so, I think, we felt), and were nailed for it. We assumed that once we sold ourselves to the core staff, we could stop worrying about entry. Since we as researchers were perceived as something of an adjunct to the staff, we also may have caught some anger directed at them. In spite of our previous agreement to be willing to criticize one another's approaches in the meeting, thus hopefully demonstrating our openness to feedback and willingness to express feelings, the attack was sufficient to weld us into a beleaguered group reacting defensively.

During the next week, two demonstrations occurred of the difficulty of getting the tutors' hostilities towards the core staff out into the open to be worked through and resolved rather than remaining covertly expressed and sustained through sarcasm, passivity, and indirect attacks on role-playing or research. The first was a question about Gene Renfroe asked by several tutors in a conversation with me over dinner. Gene had been rehired for the second summer. At the previous meeting he had been the only person to say directly that he was antagonistic to the research. My response apparently influenced him and he later asked several constructive questions of the researchers and of other tutors. The other tutors' question to me about Gene was whether he was a "stooge" for the core staff. Apparently, the openness of his initial unwillingness to participate in research and then the openness of his changed feeling was incomprehensible to these others except as a staged ruse. The very idea that we might plant a stooge to influence people indicates the level of distrust that existed.

The second demonstration was implicit in the questionnaire results. One would have had to conclude that the tutors were utterly enamored of the core staff. They (ten of them) viewed the staff as very accepting, open, democratic, warm, sincere, and patient and as somewhat helpful, effective, and confronting. Meanwhile the three members of the core staff who answered the questionnaire (Tim, Valery, and myself) viewed the tutors as very rejecting, closed, autocratic, impatient, and withdrawing and as somewhat unhelpful, cold, and ineffective. Three additional tutors had filled out the questionnaire in reference to Tim rather than for the core staff as a whole. Their view of him was more negative than the others' view of the whole core staff. This was especially true in their view of him as unhelpful, ineffective, and impatient. Since the tutors seemed sure that we were making decisions without their knowledge, it seemed contradictory for them (including even those who rated just Tim) to view us as accepting, democratic, and sincere. We interpreted these results to indicate that they could not even be open about their hostility towards us on the questionnaire, probably because they weren't accustomed to recognizing and acknowledging hostility openly.

Of course, a number of other speculative interpretations of these results could be made. Perhaps the tutors were carrying about a schizophrenic image of the core staff: a positive image when they thought about us and a negative image when they found themselves in an emotionally uncomfortable situation in relation to us. Perhaps Tim was being used as a scapegoat for these negative feelings, instead of tutors' recognizing that they could develop new skills for becoming comfortable in unstructured situations. Perhaps much of the negativity was restricted to a few of the more vocal tutors, while the rest were more positive to everything that was occurring. The graph that Dave Brown drew up to illustrate the differences between tutor and core staff perceptions of one another seemed to us to cry out for discussion to establish which of these interpretations seemed to fit.

But when Dave presented the graph at the outset of the next meeting it met with the same antagonism as the whole issue of research had the previous meeting. It was seen as irrelevant--even if true, as methodologically weak, and as a means of blocking verbal communication of the same feelings. David was asked what it "meant". He said he did not know, but felt that the discrepancies invited a discussion through which we might develop enough information to decide together what it meant. The invitation was not accepted. Instead, David later reported his impression that "the tutors saw me as playing the same 'manipulative' game that they disliked from the core staff."

The discussion of the merits of research dragged on through most of the meeting, despite Tim's and David's efforts to go on to other topics even if that meant deciding against allowing the researchers to attend future meetings.

Finally, a decision was reached, amidst anger at both the research itself and the amount of staff time it was consuming, that the researchers could observe meetings without intervening and then present their findings at the end of the spring. The fact of reaching the decision seemed to loosen the atmosphere, much as the first decision by the new staff had the previous spring, and the tutors rapidly influenced the following week's agenda to fit their needs. They asked that the core staff present plans for the structure of the program that they could then discuss and influence. They also asked that the teachers join their meetings.

BEYOND ANTAGONISM

When I heard the outcome of this meeting, I felt we were finally on our way. Although I was disappointed that David's graph had failed to provide leverage on the issues of authority and research, I hoped the tutors were finally beginning to feel their own power to influence events and was glad they had made some specific requests of the core staff so that we could demonstrate our responsiveness. Rob, Tim, and I worked hard that week to develop detailed job descriptions, schedules of activities, rules, and disciplinary procedures for the following meeting, amused at the parallel between the students and staff both asking for more structure this year. On the one hand, we still felt that some vital issues were being covered over; on the other hand, we were more than willing to hypothesize that they were less timely than other issues and to respond to the tutors' sense of priorities.

Because Tim and Rob had done the main work on the proposed structure, because I was under intense time pressure, and because, in any event, I did not wish to take over their leadership roles, I did not attend the following meeting of the entire staff. I was shocked to learn afterwards that the proposal, far from generating increasing trust and constructive discussion between core staff and tutors, was never presented at all. Instead, Mal Helal had opened the meeting by claiming that the core staff had lied when it promised during the selection process to choose the staff so that a majority would be black, to reflect the predominance of black students in the program. He had evidently consulted with a number of other black tutors about his intentions, and they presented a united front now in support of Mal's demand that several white tutors be fired and replaced by blacks.

Comments by Rob and Tim to the effect that the "promise" had been a self-imposed commitment to try to develop a majority black staff, that not enough blacks had applied to generate a majority (the core staff had turned down only one black), and that two additional blacks had already been hired since the selection process only served to draw emotional attacks from some of the black tutors. Furthermore, Rob's and Tim's attempts to defend the core staff's good faith was also twisted into sounding as though the core staff members opposed having a majority black staff. This occurred despite Rob's solicitation of help from the black tutors in locating other qualified black applicants, as a consensus developed that some sort of change in staff composition was in order. (At that point the staff was 43% black, and the figure Mal quoted as having been promised was 60% black.)

We can follow the remainder of the meeting from Dave Brown's perspective:

> I was irritated enough by the black enthusiasm for firing whites to calculate the pay cut we would all have to suffer to hire six new blacks, and then pointed out that the method used to raise the issue caused me to want pay cuts (hitting blacks as well as whites) instead of staff cuts.
>
> The situation was further complicated by one white teacher's contention that we would be "copping out" if we did anything but fire whites. The white tutors found themselves threatened by whites as well as by blacks.
>
> Although some pressure to decide quickly was exerted, others pointed out the centrality of the issue to the program and succeeded in postponing the decision for further thought.
>
> More controversy ensued over a suggested "white family caucus" before the next meeting. Overt resistance to the meeting came from Tim, who saw such an event as a concession to racism. He refused to attend in spite of pressure from blacks and whites alike.

About half the whites on the staff attended the "white family caucus" at the beginning of the following week and that in itself, as well as our meandering and inconclusive path during the meeting, indicated the rhetorical confusion and lack of solidarity that prevented us from being of any special help to one another.

I was beginning to doubt whether we would ever stop sinking. The whole program seemed pointed toward self-destruct. Each time we tried to right the course, some unforeseen new crisis, usually right out of our supposed solution, would loom up and propel us in just the reverse direction. I felt utterly naive and beaten. I could not understand what dynamic was occurring. In my journal entries of the next days I was reduced to negatives:

> May 8
>
> I've been very anxious for several days about Upward Bound, not helped by today's "caucus". There is so little friendship,

caring, willingness to try to understand, simple patience; and somehow my behavior doesn't seem to help much. I have a deep feeling of being unsuited for this job. I'm not helping people express their fears, or achieve much solidarity, or gain a sense of accomplishment.

May 10

I feel so much like a reed blown in turbulent winds in all this--not even sure that I am still rooted in any sense, but at any rate more aware of being blown about---and acknowledging my feelings of confusion and uncertainty seems to be so threatening to my fellow staff members that I genuinely come to question the efficacy of my kind of orientation in this program. Not that I could authentically adopt any other mode of behavior given my present feeling-knowledge, but that I should perhaps occupy a different organizational role at least.

The next two meetings sustained the acrimonious atmosphere. The issue of staff composition was settled at the next meeting by deciding to hire more blacks while at the same time recruiting more white students (and creating for me the problem of where to find another $10,000). Core staff members tried to include a discussion of the process by which the issue had been raised and persons' present feelings about it prior to making the decision, but this attempt was submerged in a wave of antagonism to the staff's "do-nothing" policy. (Black staff members recommended six additional blacks during the next week, most of them excellent candidates, and five were hired.) Enthusiastic meetings of the math, English, social studies, and arts curricular areas followed, and mid-week meetings of these area groups were set up.

At the next meeting Mal Helal took the role of chairman prior to Rob's and Tim's arrival, requesting reports from the subject area meetings. When

Rob arrived, Mal conspicuously ignored him until Rob overtly challenged him. Rob was angry because he had still not had the opportunity to present the core staff's proposals in response to the tutors' requests for a structure, nor had our quick action augmenting the staff been acknowledged. Thus, we were still cast as the villains of the piece. His anger helped him to wrest control of the meeting from Mal, but did not prevent the usual response to our proposal. As soon as he had mentioned the first element, which was the idea of defining some of the resident tutors as teaching assistants, he found the proposal under attack from all sides. (By the following week some kind of digestion process had occurred, individuals recognizing that it did indeed respond to their wishes, and the idea was easily accepted.)

PROCESS RESEARCH vs. FACIST MEDIOCRITY

We spent almost all of our ninth and last weekly meeting on May 30 in informal conversations, moving about the room, getting to know one another better. I felt good afterwards because I'd gotten to know three staff members much better and had gotten a stronger sense of their diversity from one another and their constructive intent for the program. Nat, a black social studies teacher, was refreshingly blunt about his incomprehension of, and consequent opposition to, my leadership style. He felt my commitment to my dissertation must be influencing me to hamstring the group's decision-making by raising research or process issues just when a matter was about to be decided. When I talked in my concerned-abstract fashion about the need to compare values and learn while doing, in order to develop shared information for collaborative decisions, he questioned whether it was possible to realize such a philosophy in so short a program as ours and whether collaboration was a worthy aim. Despite Nat's stout disagreement with me, the conversation was immensely reinforcing for me, both because it was straightforward and because we emerged with feelings of respect for one another. Later in the meeting he checked back in with me, concerned that there was a lot of behind-my-back talk about my research which he thought I ought to confront with others as I had with him.

Nat's blunt opposition to my educational philosophy turned out to persuade more staff members of my point of view than all my talking ever did. We had agreed to spend the weekend together as a staff to finish work on the structure and curriculum. At the social studies meeting on Friday evening, Rob and Nat got into a long argument about teaching that gradually drew most of the rest of the staff. Rob wanted to give his students considerable choice over what they studied, while Nat felt it important to, as he put it, "regiment" them. His argument, with the phrases he repeated over and over in quotes, went as follows:

(1) however nice it might be for students to become individuated, society and public schools do not in fact encourage individual differences, so permitting kids to develop individual differences within our program would only give them more problems when they returned to school;

(2) this point of view was substantiated by the twin facts that "last summer was a basic failure" because we had "put wierd people back into the system";

(3) it followed that to be successful in teaching our students how to survive we needed to create a "facist group structure" paralleling the public schools, only more efficient at structuring basic skills, so our students could catch up and compete with their peers;

(4) in short, he said, scrupulously following his logic to its conclusion, we had "to make students mediocre to survive in society."

When I asked him whether his conclusion could be stated as: the way to be relevant to a bad society is to be bad; he agreed unflinchingly that it could.

Nat's arguments unleashed a lot of energy in others to generate a coherent philosophy that did not lead to the same conclusions or start from the same premises. Most of the staff returning from the previous summer did not agree that "last summer was a basic failure" even though we did not yet have the quantitative evidence of our students' improvement in school. But some of them were initially stymied by Nat's retort, "Why are you changing the structure of the school so much then? If it was a success, wouldn't you be continuing the same way?" I was shocked (but given the events of the spring should not have been) at how few had enough grasp of the ideas of self-directed learning and collaboration or enough sense of the program's historical development to be able to respond to Nat. Because the core staff was aware of the delicate change in emphasis in structure and staff role being engineered with the students, we had tried to tell the story of our development to the new staff as often as possible. But it became clear to me that weekend that none of the new staff members and by no means all of the returning staff members understood our transition.

In fact, the conversations of that weekend make it clear that there were two extremes of misunderstanding. At one extreme stood some of the older, more conservative school teachers who, like Nat, viewed the first summer as a failure and the change in structure as an admission that the more authoritarian approach of the public schools was necessary even if not pleasant. At the other extreme stood a number of white radical and black militant tutors who viewed the core staff as betraying the initial participative, political ideals of the program in order to keep students in oppressive school systems.

My overall reaction to the weekend reminds me of the ambivalence I felt after the spring staff meetings the first year, only at a much higher level of emotionality and with a much deeper appreciation for the barriers to change in people. The first year I had been pleased at our collaborative decision-making structure, but fearful about the low levels of interpersonal competence on the staff. This year I was pleased by the specific content of the curriculum, daily schedule, job descriptions, and disciplinary procedures that had finally begun to crystallize at work group meetings over the weekend. But I was terrified by the gaps in understanding that existed and by most staff members' obvious incomprehension of the possibility of viewing themselves as active learners, examining the impact of their behavior in each situation and experimenting anew.

I lost faith that the staff members would ever wish to begin this kind of learning. A number of excellent behavioral illustrations of issues among us occurred over the weekend, yet I could tell that very few took them seriously. For example, one issue among the teachers, as evidenced by the dispute between Nat and Rob, was whether the teacher should force students in a common direction defined by him or let them do what they wanted. I felt that both extremes missed the essential dynamic of teaching, the weaving of a common direction, rather than abdicating or forcing. I did not say this at the time because I was sure it would be regarded as abstract and irrelevant. The next morning, however, a concrete situation arose, illustrating this issue.

I had set aside two hours for the whole staff to review the spring research as well as a two-page paper I had written trying to define what I meant by research and why I thought it was personally critical for each member of the staff to research his behavior in order to operate effectively within the program. We met in a sweltering room. An awkward conversation arose among a few staff members, while others remained inattentive or whispered to one another. I was faced with a typical classroom situation: the "students" are uninterested in the topic; should I, the "teacher", force the conversation on them or abdicate? I wished to do neither. I knew that forcing was a waste of time, but I might as well resign from the program if I were going to abdicate because my effectiveness as a leader depended so heavily on their understanding what I meant by research.

I asked the whisperers and silent ones what their state was. They complained about the heat and about having to listen to two hours of "your thing." I said I saw no reason why we couldn't sit outside in the breeze and shade, so we trooped out. Once out, I responded vehemently, angrily, and pleadingly to the comment that research was merely "my thing." The following conversation involved more staff members and became more substantively informative than any other we had had on research that spring (not that that is saying much, nor that I believe it made a lasting impression on more than one or two).

Towards the end of the conversation, I suggested that we could do some research on teaching right then and there that could help us assess the validity or lack of validity in Nat's and Rob's approaches of the previous night, as well as the usefulness of research itself. We could ask how effective I had been when faced with resistance and an apparent choice between "forcing" and "letting" at the outset of the morning.

This suggestion evidently exceeded some common limit because investment in the conversation suddenly dropped sharply, members on the outskirts beginning to wander away, while others returned to closed definiteness in stating that the analogy was too far fetched to be useful and that I was jumbling abstractions such as "teaching," "research", and "process" in a confusing manner. So my morning ended with a sense of pleasure that our conversations seemed to be getting more constructive and substantive, at least superficially, but with no sense of having added so much as one candle power to anybody's awareness.

XIII. INTERLUDE IN SEARCH OF PERSPECTIVE

I seem to have reached a standstill.

Early parts of this story were a pleasure to write, but the last chapter emerged only after a gap of three months. Moreover, I'm less sure about the validity of my account in the last chapter. For example, you will note that I describe the first introduction of the research to the tutors (p. 13) in a way that does not automatically lead to the judgment which Dave Brown is willing to make (p. 14) that "we erred magnificently..." I also feel that my choice of words and phrasing reflects my anger at Mal Helal and the tutors in general. I can't be sure to what extent I am presenting material in a way that protects me and blames others rather than providing a balanced report of events.

I suspect that my uncertainty about my balance as a retrospective observer [redacted] relates directly to my increasing sense of ineffectiveness and inappropriateness as an actor at the time. I now believe that the program had evolved to a point where it required a quality of comprehension and an emotional basis for action that neither I nor anyone else in the program had yet achieved. What this evolution entailed on the social scale and demanded on the personal scale will be the topic for the theoretical chapters toward the end of the book.

I look forward immensely to having completed the next chapter describing our second summer session, and being able to move on to sharing the historical theory which has helped me to comprehend, and thereby somewhat come to terms with, the events I describe. But this preference for the theoretical is itself acting to block me from writing about the events. So, I say that the theory has helped me somewhat come to terms with the events...somewhat because my resistance to writing the previous chapter and the next chapter certainly indicate that I have not wholly reconciled myself to the failures I report. This interlude, then, is an attempt at self-therapy, which I undertake in this public manner because I sense that the difficulty I face at this particular point is identical at the most abstract level to an emotional crisis which everyone who wishes to become a self-directed learner must face at some point in his development.

But let me describe the difficulty as I in particular experience it before I ascend the scale of abstraction to the confident pose of telling you in what sense it can become (or is, or has been) your difficulty too.

THE SYMPTOMS OF DIS-EASE

First, the symptoms. I have already noted my procrastination in writing the previous chapter. Now, during a period of time that I have reserved especially for this writing, I feel my resistance to writing the next chapter even more directly, for I cannot excuse the last day's procrastination by claiming higher priority for other tasks. Along with the simple resistance comes an unwillingness to remember the summer in concrete detail; and then pain (in my back) and exhaustion as I do remember more through immersing myself in the tapes, journal entries, and other materials developed during that time.

I also feel a kind of boredom, bordering on shame, about writing about these events. I think this results from a sense that they will not really edify the reader, that they will not really increase his sense of appreciation of the world, his capacity for learning from experience, because nothing was being learned by the participants at the time. Instead of the upward spiral of mutual effectance and learning that I could report through the first year of the program, topping off and beginning to falter during the experimental selection process, I am now describing a destructive downward spiral of mutual alienation and incomprehension.

I was going to say that there is little to learn from destructive spirals, partly because they are historically common and visible from the outside (whereas constructive spirals toward increasing consciousness and centricity are rarer and visible only from the inside), and partly because it is the essence of a destructive spiral that it precludes learning. But it now occurs to me that if we could learn to identify signs of destructive spirals we could at least bail out or try some other utterly non-habitual behavior in an effort to break the spiral. And I begin to see that at this point I shared just that destructive trait of which I've implicitly been accusing others throughout this book--the assumption that I understood what was going on and what needed doing and how to conceptualize it all. These assumptions prevented me from identifying the signs of the destructive spiral until I finally, literally, got hit in the head by it at the end of the summer (a little dramatic foreshadowing to provide some suspense). In fact, my assumptions are perhaps the trickiest and the hardest to bail out from because at their center is the idea that I am *not* right to begin with and therefore need to learn. Consequently, I tend to believe that I can improve a situation by focusing on what I need to learn, by expanding myself. But, ultimately, this principle implies that I am the only person who could learn, and thus the only one who can control (improve) a difficult situation, and thus the only one responsible for failure. On the contrary, there must be occasions when I could improve a situation by confronting others, confident about my present perspective, about what they need to learn in order to improve the situation.

Even the humblest and most self-critical assumption becomes proud and blind by over-assertion.

One sign of a destructive spiral, which for a long time I mistook as unfortunate coincidence, is a series of unfortunate coincidences which cut off completion of actions. We can trace a whole string of these through the spring; (1) Rob's inability to take leadership of the meeting of "strong" applicants during the selection process, forcing Dave into the uncomfortable triple role of researcher, applicant, and leader; (2) the atmosphere around Martin Luther King's assassination that affected our first tutor meeting; (3) the reinforcement of antagonisms through Tim's role-playing, process that in other circumstances could have been educative; (4) the impact on the tutors of the proposed research as a fait accompli; (5) the sudden and hostile introduction of the issue of staff racial composition, blocking the core staff's effort to show responsiveness on other issues; (6) my inability to illustrate my view of research in the staff's weekend conversation by analyzing the conversation itself, with the result that research continued to seem to most of the staff like an abstract, mechanistic concept, unrelated to their actions.

The story of the summer session will amply re-illustrate this phenomenon of potential learning processes getting cut off before completion by unfortunate coincidences.

So, it seems on reflection that my sense of boredom about the upcoming chapter has been induced by my inability to conceive of the scale of learning I could have been doing at this point, rather than by the intrinsic absence of material for learning in the events to be described. Ironically, the learning I needed to do was to stop focusing on my learning and instead bail us out of a destructive spiral.

What this would involve suggests itself if we turn to another symptom of my present difficulty. This symptom concerns my titling of the last chapter and the next. Whereas the early chapters are titled straightforwardly, I settled on an ironic title--"Glad Tidings"--for the staff meetings of the second spring and an angry title--"Good Riddance"--for the story of the second summer. When I thought of these titles, they represented an attitude I could take about the events that made it easier to begin writing. One aspect of this attitude is simply the acknowledgement that I still have strong unresolved emotions about the events. This acknowledgement relieves the pressure I had been feeling to be objective about earlier events. Now I realize that the heightened, unresolved emotionality I feel about the second spring and summer is not merely subjective to me, but rather characterizes the different social atmosphere that we generated together during that time. Thus, to acknowledge my emotionality is to describe precisely the foremost experiential phenomenon of that time about which one might hope to be objective. My attempt at the time to remain objective enough, in a narrow, non-emotional sense, to keep learning, prevented me from learning to take the emotional, committed action objectively necessary to bail us out of the destructive spiral.

THE PROGRAM AS EMOTIONAL GARBAGE DUMP

A second aspect of the title "Good Riddance" that makes it easier for me to begin writing is its expression of a central phenomenon that I now see as occurring during the second spring and summer and which I want to avoid in my future life. This phenomenon is directly tied to the destructive spiral and to my unresolved emotions about it. What I am finally willing to recognize is that many participants in the program that second year used it as a kind of emotional garbage dump. The atmosphere of the program seemed to act like a psychic magnet, attracting persons to unload their bad karma there. These vague terms probably express no more than the emotional aspect of the destructive spiral. But for me there is great subjective significance in recognizing this aspect of what was happening in the program, for this recognition allows a feeling of anger at having been misused to surface in me.

In general, I have tended to carry about with me through life a rather blind and dogmatic good faith in others' intentions. I tend to be infinitely understanding of others' decisions and actions, on the assumption that they are struggling as hard as I feel myself to be to define a path that leads simultaneously to increasing personal fulfillment and to the common good (I regard these qualities as mutually necessary rather than as opposites). Only recently have I emotionally begun to accept the consequences of what I intellectually believed long ago -- that, in fact, very few persons have consciously chosen the path of struggle.

There are many reasons besides pure bad will why persons do not choose the path of struggle: it has not been well-marked in our social rhetoric;

~~[illegible]~~ the scale of learning involved is difficult to conceptualize, and the resulting concepts difficult to realize; and few persons have a high enough sense of self-esteem to believe that they are worth the effort called for by this path. What I have only recently begun to appreciate is that I can help to mark the path and at the same time express a very important part of myself, not only through such means as creating intellectual models of organization, sharing my experiences, and expressing my positive feelings towards others, but also by a kind of demanding anger when others are reluctant to join me on that path. This demanding anger defines my commitment and boundaries for others, as well as the choice they can make to join me (or oppose me), and thereby permits them to take an initiative in relation to me rather than simply responding to my enveloping models or experiences or positive feelings. But this stance remains relatively unfamiliar to me; my habitual reaction is to shrink from anger because I might lose another's friendship. Only gradually am I proving to myself by experience that I often gain friendship, and that what I lose was already lost.

I knew that second summer that it was important for me to insist on conformity to structures we had agreed upon collaboratively, and I struggled to develop an uncharacteristic firmness to do so. But what I evidently could not yet permit myself to see ~~consciously, because I could not yet bear to express the inward feeling of anger corresponding to the process,~~ was the emotional "garbage dumping" going on. So, it is only now that I can say "Good riddance to bad rubbish" about that summer, with some of the same glee that my childhood friends used to express when they one-upped one another using that phrase.

I think I am now approaching a successful conclusion to this interlude. I no longer feel blocked about writing the next chapter. In fact, I'm rather eager to discover how its tone will differ from the others.

My posture, my rhetoric, and my emotional predisposition at the time of this story all conspired to define anger, demandingness, and conflict as the very opposites of reason, caring, and reconciliation. I, no less than anyone else, resisted questioning and transcending the framework of my style. Even now, four years later, my struggle around this chapter shows I have more work to do to appreciate fully in my daily life the paradoxical truth that appropriate anger, demandingness, and conflict can help to create the conditions for reason, caring, and reconciliation.

This emotional crisis, cracking the shell of one's habitual style in order to digest its substance into one aspect of a conscious style, everyone who wishes to follow the path of self-directed learning must endure. Those of us who are intellectually facile enough or emotionally open enough or sensually alert enough may take a number of steps along this path before we reach the moment of crisis, whereas others must endure the crisis even to be able to imagine the path. But either way the crisis comes, always at a surprising moment, always worse than one could have expected, always more endurable than one feared.

One of the amazing qualities about this scale of learning is that one can have one's cake and eat it too, once one has earned it through suffering. I get to say "good riddance" to that summer with clear conscience, rather than carrying it about as an invisible burden on my back, and at the same time in doing so I accept responsibility for what happened in a deeper, more participative sense than I ever before felt.

XIII xiv. GOOD RIDDANCE

The staff came together on Friday, July 5, to work out the final details for the summer session. Students were bused to the out-of-town campus for a day's orientation on Saturday, then returned to the campus with their belongings on Sunday. Individual counseling sessions on Saturday resulted in the determination of class schedules by Sunday evening. Classes began Monday morning.

Our first meal together, Sunday's supper, was ominously delayed in preparation. During the delay I talked to the students and staff gathered in the cafeteria about the delicate and difficult task we were undertaking together. At least one staff member felt angry afterwards that I had set such a boring precedent by talking too long and abstractly when everyone was restless and hungry.

To my surprise and relief the cafeteria was filled with breakfasting students Monday morning by 8:30 and class meetings ran smoothly with full attendance. Tuesday and Wednesday the same phenomenon occurred. The machine was running itself. Unlike the previous summer, I did not feel constantly besieged by messages of imminent chaos. Instead, I could sit in on a regularly scheduled tutor meeting Tuesday morning and afterwards find the time and the quiet to note:

> The tutors meeting discussed study hours, the 11-12 free period, and the midnight curfew for quite a while; I managed to avoid saying anything or leading the meeting, and everyone contributed points of view. I think the atmosphere was relaxed, the new tutors gained perspective, and the importance of continuing enforcement of the rules, even though some students are

> devoted to breaking them, was emphasized. Also an incident between Denise, the black office assistant, and some of the white women tutors was discussed. She had involved herself in a dispute between two students in the dormitory and later felt herself to be interrogated about her behavior by the women tutors. Feelings seem to have tensed very quickly, but I was glad it was being raised in so public a forum for continuing discussion.

On Tuesday afternoon about ten staff members who had been meeting together since the end of May as a Learning Group gathered to share their experiences and try to learn from them. This group too was to meet regularly during the session, as was a Teaching Group concerned to compare and devise classroom techniques.

We must return to the previous weekend to pick up a contrasting thread of events developing alongside the constructive skein suggested above. When the residential tutors had received the folders of the students assigned to them at Friday's staff meeting, first one and then others noted that all the members of their groups were of the same race as themselves. It gradually became clear that, without consulting anyone on the core staff, Mal Helal, who had taken on the task of making room assignments during the week before the session started, had placed all white male tutors and white students on one hallway of the dormitory and all black tutors and black students on the other three.

Several staff members immediately supported Mal's decision. Others of us struggled to disentangle our sense at being tricked by Mal from our evaluation of the merits of his decision. Various staff members had, in fact, seriously discussed the pros and cons of segregated housing for blacks and whites during the spring. Of course, the most prominent argument in favor of such an arrangement was made by black militant tutors who saw the program as a vehicle for inculcating black consciousness among black strudents. The argument that made most sense to me was the obverse one—that segregation might permit the minority white students to develop some sense of solidarity as a group. The previous summer seven out of twenty of our white students had ceased living at the program by its final week. They had maintained contact with us then and during the winter, and several had returned for the second summer, but they had cited a sense that the blacks dominated the program as a reason for having dropped out. Some of us reasoned that the need for white solidarity in this program was in some ways analogous to the need for black solidarity in the society as a whole.

In any event, the staff provisionally agreed to Mal's decision on Friday night. Saturday morning I found myself accosted by Nat. He was furious with Mal's arrangement, feeling that segregated housing was probably illegal and in any event contrary to the spirit of collaboration supposed to mark this program. He challenged me to stand up to Mal and change the decision for the sake of the program, rather than once again being soft. I asked him why *he* hadn't objected to the decision the previous evening. Taken aback, he replied that he would be ostracized if he broke black unity. So *I* challenged *him* to stand up to Mal for the sake of the program, especially since I wasn't sure I disagreed with the decision whereas he was sure that he disagreed.

Late that afternoon, after the students had returned to New Haven from orientation, the staff met again, and Nat nervously but forcefully launched into a speech in favor of integrating housing. The argument raged in all directions. After the straight pro-integration and pro-separation arguments had reverberated angrily off others' ears, there were a host of variations on the theme: Sheila, our new art teacher who was no more vocal than Gail had been the previous summer, asserted that nothing would be resolved because the talkers on each side of the issue too much enjoyed using words fight~~ing~~ with one another [illegible]; David maintained [illegible] that the whole question was felt as an issue much more by the staff than by the students; Rob maintained that the definiteness with which all parties argued must be intended to cover anxieties about how things would really turn out. These tangents provided some perspective and humor to the situation. With this relief we gradually developed a total consensus in favor of separating the men but not the women on racial lines in the dorms for the first week, with a discussion and evaluation of the efficacy of the separation to occur at a community meeting at the end of the first week.

TRAUMAS OF ACCULTURATION

We did not have long to wait to discover how the students would test the limits of their new environment. By ten o'clock Monday morning, Jake Whittier, the business manager of the college, had called me from his office to say that most of the furnishings were missing from a luxurious new dormitory just behind our men's dorm. The guard could not understand how this could have happened since he had toured the outside of the building several times during the night and the doors had always been locked, as they were in the morning when he entered and found the place ransacked. Jake proposed to enter each of our student's rooms and recover all the missing chairs, lamps, cushions, and end tables. I persuaded him to let us take the initiative instead. By Wednesday morning the guard was able to report all furnishings replaced in the same unfathomable manner as they had disappeared.

(Already we were beginning to experience many disadvantages to the spatial arrangements of the campus. We had thought of ourselves as choosing our site carefully to provide advantages which the Yale residential college of the previous summer had lacked. And indeed the campus *was* well away from in-town distractions; the rooms *were* less luxurious than Yale's, minimizing damage costs; the athletic fields *were* directly adjacent to the dorms. On the other hand, we had no natural center of activity, as the common room and courtyard had provided at Yale. As a result, people became invisible to one another. Spontaneous activities did not organize themselves. Second, the many other summer programs on campus not only created distractions for our students but lowered our sense of identity as a program. Third, the very inexpensive construction which we had expected to be a virtue turned out to be a curse. Ceiling tiles could easily be punched through with spectacular results and the added "virtue" of providing access through the attic and another splintered tile into other students' rooms. But this feature of our environment only became noticeable later in the summer.)

By Thursday afternoon another test of the limits was in the making. The faculty discipline committee met with two students who had missed enough classes and been caught outside the dorm after midnight enough times to warrant suspension for two days, according to our discipline procedure. We realized that the first suspensions would be another critical point of our acculturation process since there had been no suspensions the first summer. By supper time I knew that the outcome would not be decided by quiet reason alone. Tim, who was one of the four members of the committee, reported that Jimmy had appointed himself defense attorney for the two students, while Mal had maintained that suspensions were not a good idea, thus subverting the laboriously arrived-at staff consensus in front of students. (Mal later denied this allegation. From what I could reconstruct he had at one point said "Oh, sure, suspensions are a great idea," with what to others seemed like smirking sarcasm.)

After supper we were to hold our Community Meeting in the cafeteria. We had asked the teachers to stay over for these weekly affairs as well as the students and tutors. I very much looked forward to the discussion of separated housing. The first week had yielded numerous minor incidents in which white students reported feeling intimidated by black students. Some staff members maintained that the atmosphere of intimidation was encouraged by separate housing. On the other hand, there had been several very useful hall meetings of the white students and tutors to discuss their feelings and actions. In fact, the reports of intimidation had arisen from these meetings. Thus, it was unclear to me whether more intimidation was occurring than the previous summer or whether more of what was occurring was being reported. Moreover, the tutor groups had never coalesced into supportive units the first summer, whereas they had already done so during the first week this summer. This second more positive interpretation may be corroborated by the fact that only two of seventeen white students eventually dropped out of the program during the summer as compared to seven of twenty the first summer, and this despite (or because of?) the constant open racial tension throughout the session.

The separate housing arrangement remained intact after the Community Meeting, not because everyone agreed on its validity, but rather because it was never discussed. As I attempted to gather the well-over-one-hundred students and staff members in the cafeteria into a meeting, Jimmy burst through the door, climbed onto a chair and began declaiming against the unjust disciplinary decision that had evidently just then been reached to suspend the two students.

Several first year students and returning students who had not attended our winter meetings regularly began demanding that the evidence in this case be brought before the Community Meeting because they doubted it. They also questioned the absence of any defense for the students charged. They impugned the legitimacy of the committee because there were no students on it. They wished to appeal the case. All these points were made with great rhetorical effectiveness. The meeting was difficult to control, with people speaking loudly, jumping on tables to interrupt, or being cut off in mid-sentence by someone louder.

In general, staff and students seemed to agree that it made sense to include some students on the committee, to consider a procedure for defending a student, and a procedure for appeals. But the emotional atmosphere and rhetorical coerciveness, as well as the demand for appeal of this particular case, complicated matters, indicating on one side a lack of trust of the whole intent of the program and on the other side a lack of trust in the genuineness of the students proposing the reforms. A few staff members tried to confront this "trust gap," but they tended to do so indirectly, such as by arguing against a retroactive appeals procedure. Other members of the meeting remained silent, apparently because they did not feel the conditions favorable for rational discourse.

Eventually, unable to generate anything approaching a coherent consensus on the issues and feelings that significant portions of the meeting were not speaking their feelings, I called for a vote on whether student representatives should join the discipline committee. It was determined that two boys and two girls would be selected, and they were duly nominated and elected. Then I said that I now felt that appealing this particular decision would be a mistake, but that more people had been arguing in favor of an appeal than against. I invited others to contribute to the argument against an appeal because I did not wish to assume sole responsibility for enforcing my point of view if other members of the community could not understand my reasoning and were consequently hostile to my judgment. After a silence two other staff members spoke in support of my position, but hesitantly and inconclusively. I called this question too to a vote, and the vote was to appeal the case. The meeting ended.

Later in the evening I found divergent views of the meeting. Some students felt that the democracy of the community had been proven. Others felt that too much of a point had been made of the particular case; they distrusted Jimmy's and others' motivations in doing so. Some staff members felt that by permitting the vote to appeal the case I had eroded the base of staff authority in the community for the summer and that students would now feel free to disregard rules. One member of the discipline committee spoke of feeling doubly betrayed, first by Mal, then by the Community Meeting. Other staff members felt that the particular case had been handled hurriedly enough to give some ground for appeal and that, in any event, the whole process of the Community Meeting discussion, even though it was not a model of openness and trust, brought many students to a sense of more active involvement in and commitment to the program.

As usual, I managed to rationalize my way to an optimistic view of the proceedings the following morning in writing about them. I came to the conclusion that:

> The extent to which intimidation has been felt as an issue this past week--between blacks and whites, between boys and girls, and between students and staff--is a measure of how far we have to go before we experience and value learning rather than power, authentic relationship rather than dominion and submission. On the other hand, the extent to which all these issues have been raised and discussed in meetings and informal conversations suggests to me a fundamentally positive flow.

SHIFTING CURRENTS, CHANGING TIDES

Students left for the weekend late Friday afternoon, and the staff commenced its weekly meeting promptly at 6. A number of staff members said they had felt betrayed by me the previous night because I had not stood up to the students. I replied that I also felt betrayed by their lack of support when I was running the meeting. Then some tutors focused on their feelings of betrayal by Mal because of his relative leniency and because of his appearance of siding with the two students in his testimony the previous evening. Both Mal and I appeared relatively open to these criticisms, making it possible for us all together to turn our attention to improving the situation, rather than having the meeting degenerate into accusatory bitterness.

So, the meeting continued, and continued, and continued, for four and a half hours, despite our fatigue. We tried to determine how we could repair our sense of cohesion and purpose as a staff and, in particular, how we could evaluate and change, if necessary, the previous night's decision at the Community Meeting.

Gradually we decided to change back to a staff disciplinary board. We felt this return necessary to preserve the sense of structure and aca-
(the student [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and the [illegible] [illegible] by)
demic accomplishment with which the staff had infused the program at the outset. In short, we distrusted the students' self-direction in relation to the academic goals of the program. A noticeable slip in observance of the curfew Thursday night and in class attendance Friday morning seemed to confirm our distrust. We decided to trust our own intuitions about what was possible and right, especially given the short, seven-week period of the program and the mandate from some of our students during the academic year meetings.

Having discussed the tone of intimidation that had characterized relations at the school during the first week, we realized that students might view our reversal of the Community Meeting decision as one more instance of betrayal and intimidation. It was noted that insofar as the staff actually felt a sense of glee and revenge at being "back in the driver's seat" the students would be right to make such an interpretation. We spent considerable time trying to understand why our decision would be right for the program as a whole and not just convenient for the staff. We decided to communicate our decision through tutor group meetings in the resident halls on Sunday evening, in order to allow plenty of time for discussion of the decision and in order not to recreate the tensions of a mass meeting.

INCIDENTALLY

Sunday night's meetings occurred quietly, apparently successfully. My only doubt derived from their quickness. At the two I visited the tutors did not seem to encourage discussion. At the other extreme, Ray Flowers, who had already molded the most cohesive and serious tutor group among the men, took two hours to meet with his group, occasional shouts penetrating to other wings of the men's dorm. It seemed unlikely that his was the only group which needed to work that hard in order really to digest the staff decision.

* * * * *

Tuesday, 12:15 A.M.: just after curfew the fire alarm in the girls' dorm started shrieking. Everyone piled into the area between the dorms. Before I could find out what had set it off, I found myself surrounded by angry students, demanding that the rules of the school be changed and that they have a role in its governance. I now discovered the value of Ray's meeting the previous night as Henry Aston and Marvin Tully, both members of his group, insisted that everyone quiet down enough to listen to my responses and then treated what I said as credible. They turned the unforeseen outburst into the genuine conversation about the school that most tutor groups had not had the previous night. So, while the fire truck arrived from it's station five miles away to shut off the false alarm; and while the business manager of the college fumed sleepily at the din from his car; and while several of the women tutors tried to figure out what to do about Milly Parson and the two other girls who had announced, upon seeing the demonstration, that they had set the alarm because of the program's injustices; I agreed to meet the following afternoon with anyone who wished to work out some mode of student representation.

* * *

Nine students and I spent three hours Tuesday afternoon rehashing all the arguments made during the academic year meetings, as well as discussing the sequence of events of the past week and the resulting low level of trust among us. We decided to create a Student Planning Committee with an elected member from each dorm floor, which could present proposals to the staff with an understanding that the basic framework of classes, study hall, curfew, and enforcement was not negotiable. I called and ran a Community Meeting after supper, despite several staff members' belief that someone else should run it because I had lost the students' respect by my poor performance at the previous meeting. I described the agreement we had reached that afternoon, along with its historical background, and then, rather than inviting general discussion, asked each dorm floor to hold discussions leading to the election of one member to the Student Planning Committee. Within half an hour the new Student Planning Committee had retired for its first meeting, selecting Marvin Tully as its chairman and devising a preliminary list of proposals to be discussed with the hall groups during the week.

* * *

Thursday, 1:30 A.M.: Milly Parson shouting and banging at my door, demanding that I take her home immediately because nothing was being done for her at this program (the two previous nights her tantrums, commencing with the false alarm, had ended between 3 and 5 A.M. with her and a staff member fifteen miles away in the emergency ward of the New Haven hospital, she suffering from severe respiratory difficulties).

* * *

Thursday, 4:30 P.M.: Melinda insisted she would kill Jane's three children if they continued to bother her (Jane was our office manager and was living in the women's dorm with her children, serving as a point of reference for the women tutors, just as I did in the men's dorm). Several of the girls had reportedly resorted to intimidating Jane's children over the past few days, making Jane exceedingly tense and fearful. But no incident had been observed by anyone but the children and the girls in question, and the girls insisted each time that the children had provoked whatever occurred or that they were lying. [illegible] Now, I told Melinda that since her attitude made it impossible for her to live with them, she would have to leave the program. In her usual way of beating me to the punch, she suggested haughtily that I take her home. I agreed in a very emotional voice that that might be the most reasonable solution, but said I wanted to take a quiet moment by myself to be sure that solution felt good. I returned a minute later and told her I had decided to suspend her immediately. Surprised by the sequence of events, she said it was her decision. I dialed her mother as she spoke, luckily finding her at home, and explained why I would be bringing Melinda home shortly. The ride home was spent in quiet conversation, Melinda insisting I was lying whenever I spoke of what she would have to do when she returned because she had no intention of returning after the two day suspension. The following Tuesday she was back.

* * *

Friday, 6 P.M.: The Student Planning Committee met with the staff to present five proposals, concerning such items as changing the time for study hours. The atmosphere was still delicate because most students doubted that the staff would respond to a committee with so little power. But, in fact, the staff agreed to four of the five proposals. Finally, we had been able to complete a cycle, turning a crisis into constructive resolution. (Of course, whether other students besides the Committee would digest this event and thus complete the resolution was still unknown.)

From then on the Committee turned its main attention away from negotiations with the staff to initiating meetings of dorm groups where students confronted one another on issues such as self-destructiveness, lack of discipline, and long-range goals.

THE THIRD WEEK

As racial and authority issues receded into the background, new conflicts regarding the quality of the internal and external environment presented themselves. The conflicts regarding the quality of the internal environment began among the staff, but quickly spread to the students.

These conflicts concerned who was doing his job well and who poorly. As the least academically oriented students began to miss class more frequently, teachers began to blame tutors for leniency while tutors blamed teachers for ineffective, uninteresting class sessions. One black student, who had appeared ready to work on raising his reading level, [redacted] attacked Nan, who was his reading teacher, for trying to turn him into a white devil.

Accusations among the staff began to be framed in racial, political rhetoric: the black militant tutors were subverting the program; the white teachers could not possibly teach black literature. I decided we should end the week a day early and hold a full day staff meeting to try to reverse this tide on Friday. By that morning Mal's and Tim Weston's relationship had deteriorated to the point where Tim wanted nothing more than to punch Mal into a pulp, the most recent contribution to this attitude having been Mal's apparent, unauthorized use of the school vehicle throughout the night, making it impossible for Tim to drive home.

Someone later characterized the atmosphere at the meeting that day as "honest hate." One felt that the differences and feuds brought into the open and struggled through painfully to solutions would reopen again within a day or two. None of our solutions seemed to match the power of the disintegrating forces among us.

Over our whole discussion hung the pall of Jake Whittier's declaration to me the previous day that he would recommend to the college president removing Upward Bound from the campus. A series of incidents following the first night's raid on the new dorm and the false fire alarm had been usurping more and more of his energy:

Ceiling tiles in the dorms punched through; window screens bent out of shape by boys struggling to enter the girls' dorm after hours; one of our students reported to have been rampaging about the classroom building one evening threatening persons with a knife; complaints from the cafeteria personnel that our students "talked back" to them; simultaneous complaints from one groundsman to Jake and two of our students to me that the other party had molested and intimidated the complaining party.

Calls from the police after: two white girls ~~riding~~ rode their horses across the playing field and exchanging taunts, angry words, and threats with some of our students, resulting in the arrival at dusk in the far parking lot of two carloads of white youths brandishing guns and chains, my identification of one car's license, and the youths' arrest.

And, finally, on Thursday afternoon, what nearly became a full scale battle when the football team and two truckloads of groundcrew members with picks and shovels contended for possession of the football field; as usual both sides were equally convinced that the other had caused the fracas, and could point to several agreed-upon examples of provocation.

It was at this point that Jake simply decided to call it quits. He had not anticipated having to devote more than cursory attention to the program all summer, and no one else on the college staff had any commitment to the program whatsoever. Consequently, he was being blamed by the college staff for bringing in this troublesome program, when he had simply anticipated making some money for the college by using the facilities for this and a number of other programs over the summer.

I appreciated the incredible bind Jake was now in and the efforts he had made on behalf of our program, but at the same time felt that the college was largely to blame for not accepting our repeated offers throughout the spring to devote time to preparing the members of the college staff who would have contact with our students. John Darius and Marvin Tully staved off immediate dismissal of Upward Bound from the campus by speaking with great sincerity and convincingness when they joined me in a conversation with Jake and one of the vice presidents of the college that afternoon. However, the vice-president set the condition that there be no more incidents whatsoever between the college staff and the students, as though we were solely responsible. This condition generated great tension within the program as soon as the students returned Sunday night:

The glass panel in a door was accidentally cracked, and John Darius immediately began collecting money from students to have it repaired;

Henry Aston met with some other students and decided to form the S.U.B. Club (Save Upward Bound), the purpose of which was to concentrate on modifying the students' own behavior (he drew about fifty students to his first two meetings during the fourth week, but ~~the~~ his serious, almost moralistic tone and the resolution of the immediate crisis led to dwindling attendance thereafter);

The black staff held a family meeting which generated the suggestion that we insist on a meeting between representatives from all constituencies in our program and all constituencies of the college staff; Valery relayed this suggestion to me.

INSTITUTIONAL POLITICS

Feeling quite supported by these ~~[illegible]~~ (initiatives on the part of students and staff) although still unable to sleep at all because of anxiety since Whittier first mentioned ending the program, I insisted in a conversation on Monday morning with Jake that a meeting be held along the lines suggested by the black staff.

The meeting occurred that afternoon. The college was represented by a dozen persons, from the president to two members of the grounds crew. Upward Bound was represented by eight persons, including John, Marvin, and Micky Robertson. The president, an old immigrant about to retire in a month's time, opened the meeting by asking our students why they didn't appreciate all that was being done for them, suggesting himself as a model of someone who had started poor but made it to the top by hard work. Denise countered his patronizing tone with a harsh query as to why the college's staff didn't appreciate our program enough to curb its prejudice, especially considering that we were their foremost source of income that summer. The lines having been drawn, our students and the grounds crew members proceeded to surprise one another by describing themselves as harrassed by the other. Then, positive proposals for improving our relationship from me and several of the college faculty overroad Jake's assertion that all there was left to do was for us to pack up and leave. Micky made a long, impassioned speech about the value of Upward Bound to its students through our openly conflict-laden approach to one another and ended by bringing himself and almost everyone else around the table to tears. One of the college secretaries suggested that we ought to create regular small meetings between our students and the college staff, so that they could get to know and appreciate one another, rather than simply fearing one another as alien. The meeting ended with an agreement to meet the following morning to come up with concrete proposals.

One of the vice-presidents and two of the faculty members present thanked me afterwards for the meeting, saying it represented the first sign of social responsibility on the part of the college that they had seen. Early next morning this vice-president defended the program in a small meeting of the president, the two vice-presidents, and the business manager. Faced by negativity toward Upward Bound by the other three, he ended the meeting by agreeing that the program had best leave the campus, not because it had failed but because the college had failed.

At our meeting that morning the president stated that he would not agree to the proposal that several members of the college staff share responsibility for relations with us (one of the concrete proposals). He did not believe in group responsibility, only personal responsibility. In this case, he said, Whittier was that person, but Whittier felt Upward Bound should leave. Hence, he saw no alternative but for Upward Bound to leave. He listened impassively as the director of another program, which was also using the campus during the daytimes, compared this solution to a high school's discharging its problem students rather than coping with the problems. The president and Whittier suddenly left at noon without any resolution. The situation seemed hopeless, but I suggested we meet one more time that evening.

In the meantime, the whole program was engulfed in gloom. The only question being discussed at meals and, as I learned, in classes as well, was whether we would have to leave that day. Both students and teachers stopped preparing for classes, convinced that our last moments were at hand.

To my surprise, both the president and Whittier showed up for the meeting that evening. After brooding in silence for the first fifteen minutes, Jake said that he was going to say one final thing and that it was going to be nasty and mean. He then proclaimed that he was really the only friend that Upward Bound had on that campus, the only one willing to sacrifice time and energy on our behalf. He lashed out at our recent supporters on the college staff as talkers rather than doers. Perhaps carried away by his own rhetoric, he proceeded to pledge himself to work as hard as necessary to keep Upward Bound at the college, without asking for the raise or vacation that other members of the college staff had asked for when it had been suggested they share active responsibility for Upward Bound's presence.

The president glowed his approval of Jake.

Stunned Upward Bound members tried to digest our sudden salvation.

Only Marvin retained his sense of political acumen sufficiently to ask with appropriate coyness whether Jake's commitment was likely to sustain itself this time.

"Forever," responded Jake. And, although "forever" turned out in fact to include only two more weeks, he lived up to his word; for when we finally decided to end the residential portion of the program a week early it was at our initiative, not his.

I am still unsure just what balance of forces produced the alchemical transformation in Jake's attitude toward us that evening. I suspect that both a cynical and a straight-forward explanation played some part. The cynical explanation is that with the president retiring Jake's job security was very shaky. Thus, he was involved in what became rather complex jockeying to build his own credibility and undercut others' credibility with the incoming president. Upward Bound's presence first appeared to be a feather in his cap, then a black mark, when he seemed troublesome, and then, when other members of the college staff came to our defense, once again a feather. The straightforward explanation is that he really did care about

Upward Bound, but found it an unforeseen drain on his energies and on his relationship with his own colleagues and subordinates. When the meetings influenced the attitudes of the rest of the college staff sufficiently so that he could expect support rather than grief from them, the prospect of working with us once again became more appealing.

FRAGMENTATION

The atmosphere surrounding the possibility of the program ending during the fourth week did more to disintegrate our efforts than the belated decision to stay could counterbalance. As each problem at a given level was solved, deeper or more far-ranging problems seemed to emerge. The fifth week turned our attention towards the wounds within individual students and towards the destructiveness of persons altogether disconnected from the program:

Robert Gore, one of our new students and New Haven's biggest and most promising football player, appeared at my door in a ferocious depression at 1 A.M. one night, told me to take him home, and said he did not want to talk about it. He was tired of this shitty program and he'd gotten nothing out of it. On the way home, he said that he did not wish to continue living. He had never believed he was worth much because all his coaches kept trying to shoehorn him through school as though he really were dumb, rather than helping him to learn. He revealed that he had an illegitimate daughter and that he had come this summer to get smart for her sake, so she could have an intelligent father. But now he was sure he really was dumb because his reading teacher had told him that day that he had a sixth grade reading level, so why continue trying. We sat outside his home as he wept silently. He decided not to give up, but to return to the program. (It turned out later that his reading teacher had been trying to encourage him by sharing with him that his reading ability had advanced four grade levels in four weeks of the program.)

Dennis Hall had been on top of the world for a week because his art work had been featured in the foyer of the college library and then in a photograph in the New Haven newspaper on the Sunday after the fourth week. His room at the college was filled with art work he had completed since the outset of the program. When he discovered that another student had lifted portions of his ceiling from the brackets, climbed down into his room, and defaced all of his work, he went beserk, broke into the art room, and destroyed all the work he could lay his hands on.

Each evening car loads of New Haven teenagers began to arrive at the campus, even though it was miles out of town, because the word had gone around that a band played for our students during the hour between study hall and curfew. Efforts by the two campus guards on duty, by the staff, and by many of the students to get these "visitors" off the campus only succeeded in generating a guerilla warfare atmosphere.

Attendance at classes and afternoon activities continued to worsen. The staff seemed to be so tired that it could generate no creative organization. Only Ray Flowers continued to get a good basketball game going each evening after supper. For two afternoons I generated first a student-staff softball game and then a male-female game by simply carrying the equipment out to the field and shouting for everyone to join me. Both occasions were great fun, but when on the third afternoon I had a meeting with the Learning Group, the game failed to materialize, even though several staff and students had told me at lunch they would take over organizing it.

The only event that worked regularly the fifth week was the daily meeting between college staff members and members of our program which had been agreed upon during the crisis discussions of the fourth week. Each meeting was composed of different students and staff on our side and different secretaries, cafeteria workers, and ground crew members from the college. These meetings succeeded in replacing the previous negative atmosphere with an aura of good will.

I decided before the staff meeting at the end of the fifth week, and the rest of the staff agreed, that we ought to end the residential aspect of the program a week early, at the end of the following week, and conduct daytime sessions in New Haven during the seventh week. This decision was based primarily on the fact that the small damages to the dormitories had continued to the point where it would cost the equivalent of the last week's rent for the program to pay for the necessary repairs.

THE THREE ENDINGS

Since we could foresee the advisability of ending the residential portion of the program early, why did we not end it then at the end of the fifth week? Why did we not move right into the church auxiliary that became our little red schoolhouse during the seventh week? The daytime sessions could have been as productive as they became the seventh week, with none of the headaches of residential living, for two weeks. Instead of preparing the twenty students who did pass make-up exams at the end of the summer (compared to a mere four the first summer), we might have succeeded with as many as thirty or forty had we worked in town for two weeks. I guess we didn't do it because ending the residential phase felt like an admission of failure which we dreaded making. Also, we assumed that absenteeism would be even worse when students were not physically proximate to the classroom as they were on campus, whereas in fact students suddenly seemed to become intensely motivated to continue working with the staff as soon as we became physically separated that last week.

The fact that the mutually hostile subgroups of staff members could work separately that last week reduced immediate, visible conflict. Some of the militant black staff members preferred to work in the neighborhoods talking with and tutoring the less academically inclined students. At the same time, the part of the staff that organized and manned the little red schoolhouse made it clear that they could do a much better job if core staff members would stay away. As one woman tutor told Tim Weston one morning, "Why don't you stay away and give us a chance? You botched your program. We don't need your help."

A much more harrowing ending preceded the above events during the sixth week. Although we had set special closing exercises for Friday night of the sixth week, inviting parents, and beginning to plan various productions and presentations of literature and art to generate a positive atmosphere of expectancy, these efforts foundered against the continued fragmentation occurring.

Students removing ceiling tiles, climbing through the attic to others' rooms, and stealing valuables became such a menace that we tried posting a tutor in the attic for a while.

Early Thursday afternoon I was struggling to find two "visitors" who were reputed to have spent the night. I was also worrying that this final night might breed chaos and was wondering whether we should end the program a further day early. To do so would cut off all possibility of feeling good about the summer by ending on a positive note with the celebration of the closing exercises. But several staff members were reporting to me in the final throes of frustration that they were unable to gather students for rehearsals of a playlet and a poetry reading, so it was increasingly unclear that the closing exercise would be such a positive note after all.

At this point, Sam, one of the white tutors, approached me, his face livid and his whole body shaking. First he stammered angry reproaches at me for not closing the program sooner. I asked him what had happened. It was all over now, he continued, and he would ask the staff to close the program that afternoon whether or not I agreed. Gradually, his story emerged. He had been sitting in his dorm room when he heard knocks on his ceiling. Rather than responding, he decided he would remain quiet and thus catch whoever it was that had been causing so much trouble by stealing. A ceiling tile was lifted out of its bracket, and the faces of the two students who had been suspended the first week of school appeared through the hole. When Sam called out their names, they climbed down into his room instead of disappearing. They were followed by the two "visitors." The four then advised Sam not to report them. Sam refused to be threatened, so they began to push him around and then to hit him. He tried to protect himself but did not hit back. Eventually he worked his way to the door and escaped.

Tim immediately called the police, asking them to send a car out to the campus.

Just then the four cockily entered the hall where Sam and I were standing. I told them that they should all join me at the program car in the parking lot, that the two students were dismissed from the program for the remainder of the summer, and that their friends could return their clothes and other valuables to them the following day. They replied that there wasn't anything I could do to them. I replied that the police were on their way to the program at that moment and that I would have them arrested if they did not accompany me voluntarily. They did so docilely. Tim Weston and two other students joined us for the drive in.

The students whom I was dismissing regained some of their aplomb and began to insist that I was treating them unjustly. They said they would retain the black community leader at the community house as their legal counsel. I said I would be glad to talk with him then and there since I was sure he would agree with me that there was nothing to defend.

In the meantime, students at the program had told Dave Brown after we left for town "They goin to git him in there and kill him," so he had called the police and asked them to send a man to the community house. When we arrived at the community house in the car, Tim advised me against entering until he found a black neighborhood worker whom he trusted. I waited outside the community house for a few minutes, until one of the students called out that the community leader was there. Confident in his ability to maintain order, I went in. Upon entering, I was asked to sit down by the wall until he was free. There were a number of youths in the room, some playing pool at a table in the middle. Several came over to me and began questioning me hostilely. I asked where the community leader was and was now told that he was out of town. More and more of the youths crowded around me, one of them beginning to push me with one hand as he questioned me. What was our program? Why were we so inhospitable? Why was I prejudiced against blacks? What was I doing in this place anyway? Didn't I know that whites weren't welcome here? At this point, I said I would be glad to leave and began walking toward the side door which was propped open by a chair. Only later did I recall seeing one fellow, just behind some of the others, swinging a sledge hammer laconically. Persons crowded about me, grabbing for me. Someone pushed the chair from the door as I approached it, and I was barely able to squeeze out before it closed.

I rushed out and down the stairs to the yard, followed by shouts. I looked back, saw the chair, a rock, the sledgehammer, and a broom all about to be ejected toward me and turned to shield myself as I stumbled down the final stair. Something hit me in the back of the head, knocking my breath out and causing me to begin sobbing and wheezing involuntarily as I made it to the sidewalk. ¶ I found the policeman Dave ~~we~~ had asked for at the corner, but could not speak for several minutes through the sobs. By that time Tim returned, having been unable to find the neighborhood worker. ¶ He was simultaneously angry at me and protective of me. ¶ We returned to the car. ¶ I felt exceedingly stupid and at the same time finally convinced that matters were out of control and that we should simply close the program immediately. The two students who had ridden in with us rejoined us, deriding Jim for having been a coward and praising me for having been willing to risk my life for the sake of the program. Enraptured by the trickle of blood from the back of my head, they could not understand why I would talk now, at this moment of triumph, about stopping the program.

When we arrived back at the campus, we found the staff in meeting and on the brink of making the same decision to stop the program. We decided to call the parents and tell them to come out as soon as possible, but to wait until the end of supper to tell the students so parents would be on the scene to help avert any negative reactions to the announcement. To my surprise, the most negative reaction to the announcement came from the students who had struggled most to make the program work, people like John Darius, Henry Aston, and Marvin Tully. They felt betrayed and wanted to believe that they could have controlled matters that final night. Whereas they had been prepared minutes before to believe I was a legitimate hero because they had heard the "epic" of the community house from the other two students, they now viewed me as a cowardly traitor. This was a bitter final pill.

Well, not final. It turned out that Micki Robertson and Seth Phillips had returned to their floor immediately after hearing the announcement and had punched through virtually every single ceiling tile along the hall, leaving a shambles. The following morning the vice-president of the college who had been negative to the program called in a newspaper photographer, and the debris was spread over the front page of that Saturday's paper along with a sensationalistic article containing several alleged quotes from me, although I had never spoken to the reporter.

Nor was that the finale. When the program ended altogether after the day sessions the seventh week, the core staff moved its office to the third floor of a Yale building renovated to house special educational programs during the academic year. The second night a fire gutted the building, destroying many of our records as well. It has never been established that the fire was caused by arson. And even if it was, ours was not the only program in the building that might have been an arsonist's target. Still, the event does seem symbolic of the summer, even in its inexplicableness.

XIV. AFTERLIFE/AFTERTHOUGHT

With the end of the second summer, I ceased directing Upward Bound, as planned, in order to turn my full attention to completing my graduate work.

I had searched for a successor for six months, originally in the hope that he could participate in the summer session; but it was hard to find candidates who met my standards of an articulated educational philosophy and interpersonal competence; and then the Yale administration stalled on the two men I recommended until they took other jobs instead. I later learned that although the administration did since my commitment to hire a black director would not wish to hire a man who would operate the program in a manner similar to mine. A primary concern for the succeeding summer, shared by the Yale and national Upward Bound administrations, would be to create a more orderly, less troublesome program.

A new director with a commitment to structured academic learning was eventually hired in mid-winter. By pre-structuring the program from the top down, by avoiding open staff and communal meetings, and by eliminating most of the students we had attempted to work with during the previous two summer,* he succeeded, according to informal reports I received, in running a quiet residential session the next summer.

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*Whereas 75% of our first-year students returned the second summer, only 30% of the students from the first two summers returned for the third summer. Only 16% returned for the fourth summer.

Beyond this achievement, it is unclear that the new philosophy improved the academic, social, or personal results of the program. In a later review of the files, I found several evaluations of the program by its faculty, all predominantly negative, of which the following paints the most comprehensive picture:

> From the job interview, from friends who knew about the new Upward Bound, and from the orientation sessions, I was given the impression that the overall program was to be structured and skills-oriented and that the algebra classes were to be designed to help prepare students to deal with an algebra class in the public schools in September. During the first few days it became clear that these impressions were not correct. Although nominally required to attend class, to study in the evening, and to observe a curfew, students were not penalized for not doing so. The stated goal of the program became "personal development." Almost two weeks elapsed before the first full staff meeting. Whether, given the students admitted and the staff hired, even early action could have changed the course of events is doubtful; as it was, the trends begun the first few days continued until there was no academic program.
>
> In short, staff (at least teachers) came expecting a structured, skills-oriented, academic program; students came expecting an unstructured summer camp like the previous summers; and the staff was not strong enough to bring about a change in those expectations. This inadequacy of the staff caused teachers, tutors, and administrators to blame each other for the failure.

In the meantime, I was still struggling with the first two years of the program, now in an intellectual sense. My thinking was not merely private and retrospective, however. Instead, it generated numerous new encounters and conflicts between me and the faculty in my graduate program ~~department~~. As mentioned earlier (p. [illegible]), I wished to organize my dissertation around three topics which I regarded as inextricably interrelated, both in theory and in the practice of my management of Upward Bound. The first was the possible development by individuals from compliant learning (or defiant non-learning in the case of many of our students) to self-directed learning; the second was the possible development by an organization from a bureaucratic ~~[illegible]~~ assumptions to some kind of collaborative structure; the third was the possible development of the social climate from avoidance to encouragement of shared, mutually relevant objective information, i.e., the possible development from anti-scientific to pro-scientific ~~[illegible]~~ norms in social action. It seemed to me that to study how to encourage self-directed learning among persons was to study collaborative organizational structures; that to study how to generate successful collaboration was to study how to encourage action based on the sharing of mutually relevant, objective information; and that to study the process of sharing and acting on mutually relevant, objective information was to study the way self-directed learners operate. I argued that it made no sense to study any one of these processes in isolation, since each of them--individual learning, organizational structure, and social scientific inquiry--depended for its higher development on the simultaneous development of the other two processes.

The three faculty members on my dissertation committee tended to feel that my proposal was too ambitious and that I ought to restrict myself to a single one of the three topics. At the same time, other members of the faculty in the department became increasingly negative about my performance in general and about my proposed dissertation in particular, even though (or because) they generally agreed that I was one of the brightest students in the program. As they saw it* I had evaded several requirements (I had fulfilled some requirements prior to entering the program and had petitioned unsuccessfully to omit another), had failed my qualifying

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*In a tape recorded evaluation session of the doctoral students, of which each student was later invited to hear the portion referring to himself.

exams (true, although I had remedied that the following term), had written only one really good paper during my third year (the three men who harped on this point were in fact referring to three different papers), and was now proposing to embark upon a dissertation seriously flawed as a scientific study by lack of quantitative data and by my active participation in the very project I claimed to be studying. Some members of the faculty perceived me as being determined to influence them but as utterly unwilling to be influenced by them, and they did not wish to let me get away with this.

It became evident that my efforts to define my own learning deviated sufficiently from the conventional role-behavior of a graduate student in this organization and that the resulting quality of my thinking deviated sufficiently from what others recognized as science to raise doubts about the very legitimacy of my work as scientific inquiry. This experience seemed to me further evidence of the interplay among definitions of personal learning, organizational structure and scientific inquiry. But, even though I knew that the faculty's view of me was somewhat distorted, I could not deny that I had failed in my attempts to convince them of the validity of my views, an important failure on my part since one aspect of an aspiring scientist's responsibility is to communicate his work to his colleagues in a publicly convincing way. So, I finally decided not to write the dissertation on Upward Bound.

Once having accepted the faculty's influence in this dramatic way, my relations with them seemed to improve equally dramatically. I defined an acceptable alternative dissertation in three days and then took a long vacation during which I began to write about Upward Bound in a more informal way, eventuating in the first three descriptive chapters of the present book.

MORE RECENT INFLUENCES

After this start, two years intervened before I returned to work on this manuscript. During this time I completed my dissertation and revised it for publication as a book (Learning from Experience: Towards Consciousness), achieved publication of another manuscript (Being for the Most Part Puppets), spent a happy and successful* summer as an "applied behavioral science intern" at the National Training Laboratories, and took a lead in executing a successful+ and innovative course encouraging self-directed entrepreneurship among some 350 S.M.U. School of Business undergraduates each term for two years.

I mention these achievements and the aura of public success that suffuses them because I believe they affected this manuscript in two related ways. First, these successes gave me a lot more courage to return to the study of the more agonizing, ambivalent processes and results of my Upward Bound years. For I have been continually aware during the past two years of acting under the influence of lessons learned from Upward Bound, modulating the tone, timing, topic, and intensity of my actions in organizational settings from day to day on the basis of patterns in my Upward Bound experience. Consequently, it has become clearer and clearer to me that even my failures at that time were of value to me, serving as pre-conditions for later success.

Second, these later successes affected my sense of the relative force of various social dynamics interacting at Upward Bound. Initially, I was very harsh on myself in evaluating responsibility for the difficulties and failures of the second spring and summer. I felt it important to accept the final, public verdict of failure inherent in the hasty and violent ending of the residential program, rather than comforting myself with reflection about less obvious indexes of performance (e.g. students' increased ability to verbalize issues and reach group decisions, the twenty students who passed make-up exams), which provided grounds for believing that significant learning had occurred in the midst of all the conflict. And, given the overall verdict of failure, I blamed my own performance heavily for this failure. This emphasis is reflected by the repeated mention of my fear of conflict in the early chapters of this book, a theme which I anticipated would explain many of the negative results which occurred late in the program. I would listen to succeeding tapes of those two years with this theme in mind and I would find myself wishing at the outset of a given meeting that I had recognized, faced up to, and verbalized a certain conflict. I would berate myself for not having done so, only to find, as I listened to the tape, that I had voiced just that concern at the time. This repeated discovery; as well as my later public successes; as well as the very writing of this book (witness Chapter XIII, "Interlude")--all these events reduced the harshness of my self-evaluation, made me more accepting of my real failings, and turned my attention more toward shared social factors responsible for hindering learning among us.

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*According to leaders' evaluations.

+According to superiors' evaluations and extensive quantitative and comparative research.

KINDS OF PERSONAL LEARNING

In retrospect, I believe I experienced several different kinds of learning during and after the program. One kind of learning I would describe as a feeling of increasing personal embodiment or concreteness as the program progressed. Many persons probably feel sufficiently embodied to begin with, comfortable with specific stylistic and cultural assumptions about how life is best lived, and feel a greater struggle relating to abstract principles. But my particular background of living in different cultures as a child and then of intellectual concern in school made me more at home among abstractions than among particular actions. I do not believe that the increasing embodiment I felt inhered in the concrete experience of the program per se, but rather in the attempt to translate certain ideals--self-directed inquiry, collaboration, social inquiry-in-action, inter-cultural community--into concrete practice. This attempt called for constant stretching, balancing and accepting of everyone's competence, awareness, and willingness to experiment, and thus made it very clear what were the actual limits of my own and others' abilities so to stretch, to balance, and to accept.

What most surprised me then and still surprises me each time I encounter the sequence, even though by now I have encountered it thousands of times, is first, how little disposed most persons tend to be to such conscious stretching, balancing and accepting, no matter what their age (except young children), social class, or level of education; next, how fiercely they initially fight against sharing in such stretching; and finally, how strong and gentle and generative they become when they take these eternal, optional human tasks as their own. The more often I have seen this sequence the more concretely defined I have become in my moment-to-moment actions with others. I have become increasingly willing to create specific environments and make specific demands on others in the belief that these environments and demands will help us grow together.

This willingness to make demands is a second learning I derived from Upward Bound. Before, when I was only in touch with my infantile, egocentric demands of others, I suppressed them for fear of being rejected and, instead of making any demands, I tried in a somewhat chameleon-like fashion to meet the standards of the environment or particular person I was with. By the time I took on the directorship of Upward Bound, I had developed a sufficiently mature and coherent set of principles to provide me with some anchor, but a too abstract anchor to give me much leverage in any concrete situation. I continued to have a great fear of imposing my principles on others if I stood for them too firmly, because I did not yet know how to measure in concrete situations how much firmness was necessary on my part to balance counterforces [illegible] and thus create a genuine choice for myself or another. During the second year of Upward Bound I could be firmer and more demanding than during the first year both because I had confidence that many others in the program shared some of my principles and because I was beginning to learn what kinds of behavior needed counterbalancing. But even then I found it difficult to understand the validity of the research findings of one of my friends who interviewed a dozen staff members during the final, non-residential week of the program. Their various remarks about me created a coherent portrait of a gentle, responsive person; too often taking personal responsibility for events but too rarely taking program responsibility for decisions; unrealistically abstract and committed to an unfamiliar educational philosophy that couldn't work in seven weeks; with no concept of evil or of the need people have for limits; and consequently weak and vacillating when aggressive action was needed. When I originally saw these findings, I struggled ~~with~~ against them and partially rationalized them away by feeling misunderstood. Now, after four years of stretching toward an appreciation of the opposite extreme--aggressive initiative (which a colleague's recent remark that I acted in a "blindly antagonistic" way on a particular occasion suggests I may have achieved), I can see more clearly how weak I was.

Another fundamental learning of mine, implicit in several of the foregoing paragraphs and probably already only too obvious to most people, is that most of the time most adolescents, youth, and adults in our society do not act rationally. By rational action I mean behavior which congruently expresses the balance measured by one's thought between intuitions of one's present step in his lifetime dance and of the present step called for by the environment. Intellectually, I already knew that virtually no one develops the skills and awareness to act rationally. But in practice I always took people seriously and at face value when they spoke, and therefore accorded them the kind of respect one ought to reserve for rational action or efforts toward rational action. I can see two characteristics in me that contributed to this tendency. One was my habitual compulsion to respond to others' demands so that they would accept me. The second was my image of myself as rational and my projection of this rationality onto others. My sense of my own rationality was propagated partly by a genuine (but not very highly developed) concern to link abstract intuitions to my behavior, partly by my radically incomplete ability to observe myself (which spared me from seeing almost all of my irrational action), and partly from my suppression of many of my spontaneous desires (which gave me an illusory constancy).

At the end of Upward Bound I not only came to feel others' irrationality, but to despair because it seemed to me that by and large, with important but not very numerous exceptions, people refused to acknowledge their irrationality in action and therefore never discovered and participated in the struggle toward rational action. When I look over my experience since then, however, I find that as I have increasingly acknowledged my irrationality in action and enlarged and more openly shared my struggle toward rational action, the other people in my environment have seemed more willing to acknowledge their irrationality in action and to take on the struggle toward personal rationality. I'm not sure whether the former plays a role in causing the latter, but in any event my despair has dissipated.

I emerged from the Upward Bound experience with a stronger and more concrete commitment to self-directed learning than I had entered it with. I felt that staff members' low level ~~own lack~~ of self-directed learning had made us unready and unable to run a genuine school—to encourage self-directed learning among students.[11] But various ones of us had moved far enough along the path of self-directed learning for me to delineate the differences one could expect over time between a person exposed to what I would call "unilateral inculcation"--the conventional education of today--and a person who enters an environment which encourages the struggle toward self-direction. The following list of different qualities emerged:

UNILATERAL INCULCATION leads in the direction of valuing given answers and thus to:	SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING leads in the direction of valuing existential questions and thus to:
A STATIC SELF-STRUCTURE	**A DYNAMIC SELF-STRUCTURE**
psychological rigidity	psychological flexibility
low self-esteem	high self-esteem
psychological failure	psychological success
low, externalized, or irreal levels of aspiration	self-challenging, achievable levels of aspiration
distortion of messages	undistorted reception and transmission
unwillingness to own clumsiness; failure	search for, diagnosis of, failure in order to learn
LOW SELF-AWARENESS	**HIGH SELF-AWARENESS**
low awareness of relation of words to behavior	awareness of congruities and incongruities between own values/behaviors
low valuing of thought in life-decisions	valuing of thought for comparing feelings in life-decisions
inability to relate thoughts and feelings	task of thought seen as mapping feelings
unconscious and therefore unself-critical value system	value system based on self-testing and self-transcending search for truth
DISJUNCTION IN SELF-WORLD RELATIONSHIPS	**TRANSACTIONAL SELF-WORLD RELATIONSHIPS**
denial of responsibility for own behavior	appropriation of effects of own behavior
unreliable, external commitments	trustworthy, internal commitments
creates binds for others	authentic, self-referential dialogue
defensiveness	openness
avoids direct reference to interpersonal situation	confronts, supports
INCOMPETENT ACTION STRATEGIES	**COMPETENT ACTION STRATEGIES**
low long-term problem-solving abilities	ability to dissolve problems permanently
low tolerance for ambiguity or open conflict	acceptance of ambiguity and interest in bringing conflict into the open
low ability to express immediate perceptions, questions, needs, feelings	ability to formulate and express immediate perceptions, questions, needs, feelings
little willingness to test reality by confronting self or others	commitment to testing reality through self-questioning, mutual exploration and confrontation
little experimentation, risk-taking, trust-building	continuing experimentation to discover each moment's new reality
INABILITY TO WORK WITH OTHERS	**ABILITY TO WORK WITH OTHERS**
inability to help others in ways that increase self-esteem	ability to create conditions in which others can increase self-esteem
inability to share authority collaboratively	ability to collaborate, recognizing both interdependence and differences
disposition to violence underlying passivity or aggressivity	higher peacefulness directing external passivity and aggressivity

XV[illegible]. THE MEANING OF COLLABORATION

Another learning of mine during the program ~~--[illegible] developed largely through [illegible] the program and thus probably of more general relevance--~~ was an increasingly sophisticated sense of what "collaboration" meant. At the outset, our definition of collaboration--whether we were proponents or opponents of this way of working together--tended to be "everyone shares in, and comes to agree on, every decision."

This view was obviously unrealistic. Given the amount of time we had, the number of decisions to be made, the number of people involved, the extent of our differences in outlook, and our lack of skills in resolving differences, such a decision-making principle was bound to fail to meet our needs. One reaction to this situation was to become ideologically committed or opposed to collaboration, explaining away any results apparently inconsistent with one's ideology. As this book suggests, my ideology was strongly pro-collaboration and no doubt led me through circumstances that would have shaken a man less blind to actual results. However, I also reacted to the situation in a different way, as did others. This reaction involved the gradual redefinition of collaboration as well as a gradual differentiation among specific situations and historical phases of our school.

The redefinition of collaboration occurred along several dimensions, roughly corresponding to the different concepts in the original definition. "Everyone" in practice gradually came to mean "the relevant public", whether that be the core staff, the tutors, the teachers, the students, the blacks, the tutor groups, etc. The specific relevant public tended to be determined by self-assertion. Thus, the black staff became a decision-making group and also more systematically influenced my decisions and decisions of the staff as a whole during the second summer session when it took the initiative to organize "black family meetings." Likewise, the students first defined themselves out of the decision-making public in disciplinary cases for the second summer, then reattained some influence through the sequence of events that led to the staff's acceptance of four Student Planning Committee proposals at the end of the second week of the second session. These instances of self-assertion, however, were probably encouraged by an overall climate established during the first year, welcoming wide participation in decisions. Thus, the redefinition of "everyone" to "the relevant public" was not merely a conceptual clarification that could have been made at the outset of the program and thus saved us much confusion. Instead, the conceptual redefinition was dependent for its accuracy and efficacy upon a particular fund of shared experience and shared work in conceptualizing that experience.

Other terms were redefined in a similar manner. "Shares in" came to mean different things in different situations. In an emergency or a very routine situation "shares in" might actually mean "is notified about, accepts, identifies with, and acts on". If sharing in decisions never meant more than being notified about decisions, it would obviously be hypocritical to speak of it as "sharing in" decision-making. This hypocrisy would result in a lack of trust between the "notifiers" and those "notified about." And this lack of trust would be reflected in a gradual disintegration of the sequence "is notified about, accepts, identifies with, and acts on." Thus, like the term "everyone," the gradual differentiation of the word "shares in" depended upon the development of trust through shared experiences and shared work in conceptualizing those experiences.

"Comes to agree on" could also mean several different things. Sometimes it meant that the discussion educated participants by responding to their questions, uncertainties, and dilemmas to the point where they felt confident enough to agree actively rather than passively; that is, to agree with a sense of initiative and responsibility about executing the decision rather than with a sense of minimal compliance. Sometimes, "comes to agree on" meant that a person made his strongest case against a decision openly and then was influenced by others' rebuttals and discarded his disagreement. Sometimes "comes to agree on" meant that, although a person was not in agreement with the decision, he was willing to collaborate actively in implementing it in the spirit of experiment both because of his respect for others' strong conviction in the rightness of the decision and because of their willingness, in turn, to research the actual effectiveness of the decision after a certain period of time. Presumably this research would either succeed in fully convincing the person who had initially agreed only on a trial basis, or else would prove the inefficacy of the decision and lead the group as a whole to change the decision. An implicit example of this delicate kind of process occurred during the staff meetings of the first

~~staff meetings of the first~~ spring, when David reports (p.68) having acceeded with the collaborative process, despite initially disagreeing with it, and then having decided, upon reviewing his experience, that he "liked the way a universe of discourse has been established." An explicit example of this kind of process occurred at the outset of the second summer session when the staff as a whole agreed to segregated housing for the boys on the proviso that this decision be discussed and reconsidered at the Community Meeting at the end of the first week (p.291). This perspective highlights the betrayal of trust that occurred when that first Community Meeting did not actually reconsider the housing decision. Because I actually felt the pain of not insisting on that priority, this experience heightens my felt commitment (intellectually, I was already clear about its importance) to take very aggressive initiatives, if necessary, whenever in the future I find the completion of such a piece of existential social research threatened.

From all the foregoing comments, it is becoming obvious that the concept "every decision" in the definition of collaboration also became differentiated. In fact, it was always a matter of judgment on the part of initiators or observers whether the community as a whole would benefit from wider or narrower active participation in the making of any given decision.

THE CONTENT, PROCESS, AND SPIRIT OF DECISIONS

We can distinguish three ways in which a decision might or might not be collaborative. These three ways imply three qualities of judgment which must be exercised correctly to render a truly collaborative judgment. First, the actual content of the decision might or might not encourage collaboration. For example, Sally's Graham had convinced the rest of the staff toward the end of the first summer that the content of a decision to invite only the academically inclined students to participate in the final week of the program would undermine the spirit of collaboration and community (p.175).

Second, the process by which (or, in static terms, the structure in which) a decision was made also might or might not encourage collaboration. For example, although I felt the content of Mal Helal's decision regarding segregated student housing for the second summer might well promote collaboration among students, I also felt that his solitary and secretive process of making it was a misjudgment that tended to undermine collaboration among the faculty.

Finally, the spirit in which a decision was made might or might not encourage collaboration. For example, even though the process of our faculty meetings remained collaborative throughout the second summer, the spirit of collaboration was so discouraged by "honest hate" (p.303) and by all our other crises that mutual distrust, destructive conflict, and dysfunctional results shot higher and higher.

The discussion of collaboration to this point and my experience at Upward Bound suggests to me that the spirit of collaboration is always the primary and ultimate (if also the most subtle and difficult to articulate) source of trust among persons, upon which both the process and content of collaboration depend for their efficacy. It follows that violation or absence of the spirit of collaboration most endangers mutual trust.

A collaborative process within any particular group of people and a collaboratively-agreed-upon structure in turn support and make possible the continued practice of collaboration in any concrete instance. I would go so far as to say that, except in cases where rhetoric is highly abstract and incongruent with actual behavior, the content of decisions will never encourage collaboration when they are not grounded in collaborative processes or structures. For example, although many of the tutor applicants for the second summer might have said in the abstract that they favored collaboration, none of their concrete behavioral suggestions in the case to which they were asked to offer solutions effectively enhanced collaboration(p.234). I would explain this result as deriving from the applicants' experiential unfamiliarity with collaborative processes and structures. Thus, the content of collaboration depends on both the spirit and the process of collaboration for its efficacy. It follows that the violation of a collaboratively-agreed-upon structure or the absence of collaborative process more greatly endangers mutual trust than would discouragement of collaboration by the content of a decision.

Let me explain and clarify this last proposition. Let us say that one member of an organization believes another has made a mistaken decision, the content of which discourages future collaboration. He may view the spirit, process, and structure of the decision-making as fully legitimate and in harmony with his own interest in the organization, but he does not agree with the outcome. In this case, given his trust in the other, based on shared spirit, process, and structure, he is likely to confront the other with his disagreement, confident that the resolution of the disagreement, whether it involves his "winning" or "losing", or the creation of a new and different perspective for both members, will enhance himself, his relationship to the others, and the organization as a whole. Thus, in this case of disagreement over content, given shared spirit and process, there is no immediate lowering of trust and a likely ultimate enhancement of trust. If there is a structure for reviewing decisions of common import and a process of confrontation and openness, a misjudgment will likely lead to confrontation and working through to a mutually agreeable solution rather than to mistrust. In other words, the more conducive the organizational structure to mutual confrontation and the higher the initial trust among participants, the less likely is any given disagreement to generate distrust, destructive conflict, and dysfunctional results.

On the other hand, if one member of an organization believes another has made a mistaken decision, not in terms of its content, but in the sense that he disagrees with the very process by which it was reached, then he cannot be sure that they share a process by which the disagreement can be constructively resolved. Moreover, since he disagrees not only with the accuracy of the decision but with its very legitimacy, it becomes unclear what authority to refer to for a superordinate set of values valid for both of them. Finally, since content, process, and spirit are progressively subtler and more difficult to articulate, a process disagreement is more likely to remain poorly focused and unspecified than a content disagreement (thus it becomes less a conceptualized disagreement than a felt difference). These dilemmas lower the probability that the disagreement will be openly confronted and also lower the probability that it will be constructively resolved even if it is openly confronted. (Or, to put it differently, these dilemmas increase the degrees of energy, experience, and intelligence necessary to resolve the conflict constructively.) Therefore, a disagreement over process more greatly endangers mutual trust than a disagreement over content.

An example may help to anchor still further the distinction between the content and the process of collaboration. When I reviewed the tape of Tim Weston's meeting with the tutors at the outset of the second spring (p.264) and felt that his covert antagonism toward the tutors during the role-playing had been a mistake, I did not become more distrustful of him. In fact, so sure was I of his openness to the data about his behavior (p.265) that I did not even anticipate any conflict when I shared my socring and interpretation of the tape with him. This expectation was confirmed. Moreover, the incident also permitted us to come closer to agreement on another issue (whether he should be the next director). ¶ At the same time, Tim's misjudgment probably increased the distrust felt by the tutors toward him and decreased their learning from the role-playing exercise.

Several factors seem to contribute to these disparate effects of the same initial act on different people's trust of Tim. First, the core staff as a whole (and I in particular) had agreed on Tim's responsibility for decisions relating to the tutors, so I did not regard his misjudgment as structural in nature. On the other hand, the new tutors had not yet developed any corporate trust or initiative in themselves or in relation to the core staff. Moreover, although the content of core staff decisions during the selection period encouraged future collaboration between the core staff and the tutors finally hired, in the obvious sense that we hired them rather than other applicants, the decision-making process never became fully collaborative, nor even, for MANY, understandably structured. Consequently, for the new tutors any difference with the core staff was not just a disagreement, but still threatened the very possibility of developing shared spirit and process. Second, the core staff by this time shared a complex, differentiated, unconventional sense of the aim of the program which for us gave meaning to Tim's efforts even if it did not assure our total agreement with his tactics. On the other hand, the new tutors were more likely to conceive of his actions as mere idiosyncracies of his personal style rather than as challenges to their social styles. Third, the core staff as a whole, and Tim and I in particular, had developed strong shared norms favoring personal, exploratory confrontation in the case of disagreements and favoring the use of meeting time for such confrontation. On the other hand, the new tutors tended to behave in more conventional ways and to interpret others' behavior in more conventional categories, resulting either in non-confrontation or in impersonal, condemning confrontation. And they tended to dismiss explorations of the social effects of a person's behavior as "talking about talking" and hence as wasted time. ¶ Taken together, all these differences in perspective led the same piece of behavior by Tim to generate a content-quality disagreement between him and me which was easily resolved with a heightening of mutual trust, while simultaneously generating a process-quality disagreement between him and the new tutors which was never fully resolved and probably lowered their trust of him.

This discussion of my increasing sense of the complexity and differentiation inherent in the term "collaboration" still remains incomplete in three important ways. I have explicated the differences bewteen my initial, naive, implicit definition and my final, more sophisticated, explicit definition in as much detail as I believe is necessary. But I have not directly discussed the historical stages in which this increasing complexification manifested itself in the organizational structure of the program. Nor have I directly discussed the epistemological relationships of the three terms which become so central to the meaning of collaboration, namely "spirit", "process", and "content". Nor, finally, have I directly discussed the effect on the program of different members holding different views of the ideal of collaborative community at the same time. I want to introduce these three considerations explicitly because I believe they are crucial to the possibility of developing genuine collaboration.

HISTORICAL STAGES OF COLLABORATION

As to history, I have repeatedly emphasized in a general way how important the actual experiences of the program were to ~~the~~ increased sharing and clarification of the notion of collaboration (see p.188 ~~of Chapter II~~, for example). The changes engendered by these experiences were most visible in the two groups who participated most continuously and intensively in working and learning together--the core staff and the first year students who attended the academic year meetings and returned for a second summer (the quality of core staff interaction is studied in Chapter X and the changing quality of student interaction is summarized on p.138 And on p193 ff

The writing and reading of this book (and other work on communal efforts such as Hinton 1966 and Kanter 1972) hopefully illuminate the vicissitudes of collaboration sufficiently to reduce some of the pain, frustration, sense of helplessness, blind wandering, and fear of meaninglessness that afflicted us and so many other of the recent political, artistic, professional, and communal endeavors at collaboration. Many of these early collaborative endeavors have ended in dispersal, often with a sense of failure, frequently leaving participants cynical or embittered, more rarely with a profound sense of learning. We have trekked beyond the social frontiers of our bureaucratically organized society, have gradually become aware that ways of thinking and acting which we took for granted even while espousing radical change are worse than useless, and have struggled toward new vision, new awareness, new skills, and new patterns of relationship and thought. The better we are able to mark the paths and danger zones, the rest stops and energy sources, the more likely are others to reach our points of failure with relative ease and success, ready to take still further steps. But collaboration will never be an altogether easy path so long as human beings bring distinct and divergent perspectives and inclinations at the outset of an endeavor. So, it will always be true that the genuine spirit of collaboration will be distilled gradually, from the particular efforts of the particular people involved in the particular situation, from initially egoistic conceptions of collaboration through the grating of private experience against private experience--mine too abstract, yours too sentimental, his too unimaginative, hers incongruent with her behavior, theirs too dogmatic to integrate emergency or novelty--until, each of us developing a more inclusive consciousness and a more particular role, the common public threads and the terms symbolizing them begin to separate out and unite us.

We can also trace a more specific developmental theme in the history of collaboration of Upward Bound. It seems to me that our experience can be differentiated into three qualitatively distinct phases of collaboration during which collaboration became progressively more subtle and less visible. The first occurred during the first spring and summer when major decisions affecting any group tended to be made collaboratively by that group and in such a way that its succeeding decisions would also be collaborative. Thus, the staff so planned the summer that the students partook in major decisions affecting them during the first week of school. Thereafter, the representative Discipline Committee and the total community at morning meetings made further decisions. Moreover, the two types of classes favored by the staff--the core classes and the tutorials--were both envisioned as highly collaborative enterprises in which students would share the initiative for determining tasks. Significantly, when the staff attempted to change the school's structure without student participation, in designing the writing workshops after the fourth week, the decision was utterly ineffective.

The second stage of collaboration occurred during the academic year between the two summers when the core staff in the fall, the tutor applicants during the final selection meeting, and the students at their Saturday morning meetings collaboratively created non-collaborative decision-making structures. The core staff divided and redivided spheres of responsibility, giving each member decision-making power in his sphere. The tutor applicants decided to assign control over their selection to the core staff. The students decided to create class settings with greater emphasis on skill-learning than on collaborative discussion and to assign disciplinary decision-making as a staff responsibility. Thus, the organizational structure was collaboratively determined in each case, but the specific decisions "within" the resulting structure were not directly and visibly collaborative.

The third stage of collaboration occurred most intensively for the core staff during its self-study just before selecting the new staff. It never occurred fully for the school as a whole, but was hinted at by the experimental selection process, by the Learning and Teaching Groups the second summer, and by the intention to use the first Community Meeting of the second summer to inquire into the efficacy of racially separate housing for the men. During this incipient stage, collaborative research became the ultimate vehicle for expressing, reviewing, testing, and perhaps changing earlier decisions, present relationships, and future visions. Thus, Valery's and Patricia's roles in the program were greatly redefined as a result of the core staff's research. The experimental selection process was constructed so as to confirm or revise early judgments by generating new data at each step with the applicants. Thus, Ben's and Greg's behavior at my meeting with "weak" candidates caused me to revise the initial core staff judgment, while Sam's and Bill's seemed to me to confirm our previous judgment. The first Community Meeting of the second summer was intended to test the decision to separate black and white housing by examining the quality of relationships developed during the first week among black and white students.

We can summarize these three stages of increasing subtlety and invisibility of collaboration by reintroducing the three qualities of "content," "process" (or "structure"), and "spirit." Generally, decisions early in the program were collaborative in "content". They specified norms, roles, and decision-making procedures that directly emphasized the equal influence and status of different constituencies of the school. For example, when I enunciated the rule against violence after the fight at the camp (p. 119), I made it clear that this was not a rule against "student" violence, but one applying equally to all members of the community.

During the academic year following the first summer, decisions about structure were generally collaborative in "process," but not in "content." That is, major, structural decisions still tended to be reached collaboratively, but they resulted in differentiated roles and various specific non-collaborative decision-making procedures. Once these major decisions had been reached, active collaboration ceased to occur either in immediate, daily decisions or in decisions about structure, since these had been made already and were precisely of a character that implied continuing commitment to them.

Although this ~~very~~ continuing commitment was in itself a *passive* form of collaboration, the incipient arena in which collaboration now began to express itself *actively* was that of social research. Decisions in this stage, had it matured, could well have been called collaborative in "spirit," even if not in "process" and "content." That is, continuing research could determine whether the program was moving in the ways originally envisioned, in a direction presently desired, and towards a good end; unforeseen contradictions and incongruencies would require research to determine what personal or organizational re-formation would be necessary to achieve greater integrity; and the very process of the research would involve at least conceptual re-formation in that initially implicit desires or incomplete connections between theory and practice would tend to become increasingly explicit and complete.

THE HISTORICAL STAGES RECONSIDERED

So far I have described these three historical stages as characterized by increasingly subtle and invisible forms of collaboration. This characterization requires qualification and elaboration in two related respects. First, it is not so much that collaboration became less visible as the program progressed, but rather that qualities which at any one time are increasingly difficult to see (namely "process" and "spirit") found increasingly visible forms as the program progressed, while the initial "content"--the interstices of specific decisions--slipped into the background. (At the same time, in another sense, as collaboration ceased being the dominant content of our activity together, there was more room for another, more conventionally recognizable content to take its place--a curriculum. Or, in still another sense, we could say that the content of collaboration changed over time from specific decisions to structure to research.)

Second, it is not so much that the content of collaboration temporally preceded the process and spirit of collaboration, but rather that its appearance--its formulation--its in-formation--preceded the appearance of the process and spirit of collaboration. Implicitly, however, a certain modicum of the process and spirit must have been there from the outset, for otherwise decisions to operate collaboratively never could have been implemented at all. ~~Another~~ Utter lack of will (collaborative spirit) and skill (in collaborative processes) would have rendered our early decisions to operate collaboratively mere empty rhetoric which, in time, would have revealed itself as naive, blind idealism or as embittered, manipulative cynicism. In this sense, true or genuine or real collaboration is finally dependent on the spirit in which action is initiated, secondarily dependent on the process, and only tertiarily dependent on the content. For example, my announcement at camp the first week banning violence was collaborative in content only insofar as everybody was equally subject to the rule, but not in the sense that everybody explicitly agreed that this should be our rule. Thus, in terms of the content alone, this decision is not obviously collaborative. Yet the non-verbal responses of everyone present to Rich's and my words [illegible] and to the handshakes of the persons involved in the fight showed that they willingly collaborated in the process, even though their emerging roles in the crisis must have been as new and strange to them as mine was to me. This implicit collaborative process resulted, I believe, from the clarity with which the collaborative spirit of the program became etched against the more usual experience of all present ~~[illegible]~~ that in emergencies some people strive to gain control over others and scapegoat them. ¶ My judgment that this decision was genuinely collaborative because it was collaborative in spirit is just that--my judgment, which I offer in order to solicit the reader's judgment in turn. There cannot be empirical (i.e., explicit) proof in the case of a proposition about the presence or absence of an implicit quality. At the same time, the general proposition that the mark of true collaboration is its spirit calls us to continuous judgment to steer a collaborative course (and as this spiritual judgment becomes explicit and empirical in the form of collaborative research it becomes refined, not obviated).

To summarize, epistemologically, the spiritual quality of collaboration is asserted as primary, but cannot be proved as such except through personal, experiential verification. Experientially, content always reveals itself as primary (in the sense of focal), but the problem of primacy does not even occur to one unless concepts of implicit process and spirit lead one to question the ~~very~~ quality of one's focusing. ~~attention.~~ Temporally, the invisible miraculously becomes visible, the spirit embodied; but only if and when knowledge and experience, intelligence and appearance, enter into dialogue with one another, each humble in its service to the other, yet loyal to itself.

THE EFFECT OF "STRANGERS"

Into this delicate and dynamic dance of collaboration, a stranger now enters. Never before having been exposed to its rhythms and music, he hears only noise, sees only confusion, experiences only chaos. Partners striving towards the creative tension of complementarity appear to the stranger merely to be struggling against each other. Repulsed by the lack of organization and determined not to be sidetracked by the participants' efforts to explain away their obvious malfeasance, he shouts as loudly as possible (in order to have any chance of being heard above the racket) and tries to break up the various distracted aggregates (in order to make possible concentrated attention on the issue at hand).

I hope I can ~~manage to render~~ useful the above metaphor ~~which perhaps shouts a bit itself in transit between the complex abstractions of the previous paragraph and the~~ to make a simple point ~~I want to make~~ about the painful conflicts engendered within the program by varying understandings of, and commitments to, collaboration. I blush somewhat at the contrast between the "rhythmic dance" of my metaphor and the blundering progress of the program. Still, I'll defend it too, returning as early as the incident between Luther and Melinda at camp (p.85) ~~using it as~~ for a microscopic example of how a rhythm can develop in the midst of what would appear as destructive conflict or chaos to most strangers. (And, in this sense, some members of the staff of the program could be counted as strangers.)

Significantly, no differences of understanding, skill or commitment during the first summer resulted in the systematic undermining of the program, and this despite the fact that some of the same ideological divisions between participative ~~[illegible]~~ and authoritative approaches existed as during the second spring and summer. I would say that this was because during the first summer each dance was an improvisation, each shout a call to a new dance of potentially equal validity to the last. There was no established rhythm to destroy (to the frustration of those who favored the authoritative approach). By the second summer a shared rhythm, albeit admittedly and obviously a highly tenuous one, had developed. Because this rhythm was not primarily ideological in quality, that is, because it went beyond the realm of content, it was less visible and therefore more easily violated and less straightforwardly defensible than rhythms which are established by fiat on the basis of some presupposed authority. I believe this rhythm, visible only to some, explains the difficulty new staff members had in digesting the status and direction of the program, (see p.277) as well as the comparative destructiveness of their misinterpretations.

The increasingly vulnerable nature of each succeeding stage of evolution of a new culture, or micro-culture within a culture, suggests to me why I cannot think of a single culture which has developed to the stage of collaborative research (although the Mayan, Tibetan, and prehistoric Hindu cultures may have approached it, and the Communist Chinese seem to me to struggle in that direction) and why, indeed, so many cultures begin to decay after meeting the visible, physical challenges.

There must be ways and resources to socialize new members to share such a rhythm, without simply demanding their outward conformity to it (for then they wouldn't share in the rhythm). In fact, although I have described this rhythm as particularly vulnerable, there must be another sense in which its inward coherence endows those who share it with a special strength. But, the core staff's difficulties during and after the selection of new tutors and at the outset of the second summer show that we did not discover such a way, nor learn how to use creatively whatever "special strength" we may have had. Although I felt good at the time, and still feel good, about my own and the core staff's ability to diagnose the changing demands on our leadership implicit in the internal organic development of the program, the tension between the maturing program and new participants (or old participants who did not share the rhythm) evidently required still other leadership skills which we did not have to the necessary degree.

In my case, my subsequent, more successful handling of this dilemma in other situations suggests to me that my leadership then was hampered by the weaknesses I have already alluded to in the previous chapter --my overrationalization, my retreat from emotional confrontation, my sacrifice of all strength for fear of imposing on others.

Also, I believe I misconceived the process necessary for us to go through with the tutor applicants. I and the core staff kept viewing our aim as developing collaboration at the original "content" level with the new staff, whereas it should have been to achieve collaboration at the "spiritual" or social research level, since that was the phase of active collaboration that the program as a whole was entering. Thus, in a certain sense, the new tutors' continuing intuition that decisions had already been made and their mistrust of us (p.262) were well founded, while our effort at one and the same time to socialize them to ~~existing~~ incipient norms in the program (i.e., "spiritual" collaboration) and to urge them to "content" collaboration contained elements of self-contradiction. My sense now is that we should have constructed the selection and training process to focus on, and clarify our commitment to, collaborative research, not collaborative decision-making. Such a focus would simultaneously have revealed our priorities, made the importance of an accurate appreciation of the history of the program more immediate, avoided the impression that research was superimposed on the "real point" of the program, and prepared the new staff for the kind of collaboration that I believe was feasible and necessary during the second summer session.

XVI. HISTORICAL STAGES OF ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT: I - THEORY

The previous chapter introduces the concept of temporal stages of development in the Yale Upward Bound program. During my reflections about the program, I had access to a number of historical theories of individual, small group, organizational, and national development (Bennis and Shepard, 1964; Hinton, 1966; Lippitt and Schmidt, 1967; Mann, 1966; Mills, 1969; Piaget, ; Slater, 1966). One night a particular way of reformulating Erikson's (1959) theory of individual development occurred to me. It seemed to apply to the organizational development of the program and, indeed, to each subpart of the program, such as the staff training periods each spring and the residential sessions each summer, offering a more detailed sense of sequence than the three-step development of collaboration ~~explored~~ introduced in the previous chapter.

Later, I discovered an additional source of elegance in using Erikson's theory. I realized that I could also apply his theory to my personal stage of development and thus perhaps come to understand something about how the personal development of a leader affects the development of the organization he leads.

I would like to present the theory and my reformulation of it in this chapter and then investigate how well it organizes the experiences of Upward Bound in the next chapter. In the chapter After that I will offer some examples of how the theory can be Applied to other organizations besides Upward Bound.

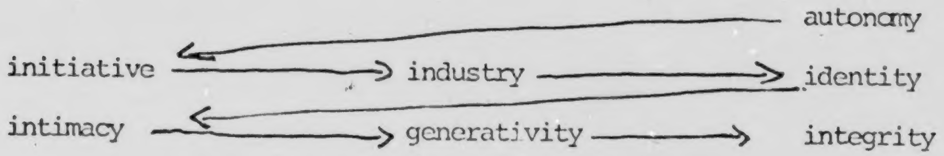
Erikson's theory proposes that an individual faces eight major social dilemmas during his lifetime, which he confronts in a definite sequence, each revealing itself as the individual achieves some kind of resolution to his previous dilemma. If a given dilemma remains unsatisfactorily resolved, then the individual will tend to continue struggling with it as he meets further dilemmas and will, consequently, tend to resolve the further dilemmas unsatisfactorily as well. Erikson names and sequences the dilemmas as follows: trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity, integrity.

If a baby's environment (e.g. immediate family) responds trustworthily to his needs, the baby can gradually afford to turn his attention to discovering and asserting his autonomy, rather than having to remain concentrated upon a depriving environment in order not to miss whatever occasional gratification it may offer. Developing a clear sense of his physical separateness, the child can recognize his possibility for testing initiatives in relation to others; and only through such initiatives can competence at playing socially defined games (whether these be recreational, academic, familial, etc.) gradually be developed. This is Erikson's industry stage. If the individual never satisfactorily resolved the dilemma of trust, he will tend to mistrust the environment throughout the autonomy, initiative, and industry stages, regarding it as manipulating his supposed self-expression.

If an individual develops a variety of competences, the question naturally arises as to which he will devote his time to, what social role he will take, what identity he will choose. (This question can, of course, become considerably more complex and anguishing than it appears here if the potential roles imply conflicting values.) Given not only a physical but also a social sense of individuality, separateness, aloneness, the person develops both the motivation and the possibility for a deeper relation with others (since a relationship can be no deeper than the individuals involved, the union no more profound than the initial distinctness). From genuine intimacy, that is, from self-transcendence, a creative new result becomes possible. The most obvious example of this process is the conception, amniotic nurturance, and birth of a new child. But the generativity stage equally describes creative artistic, scientific, or political work-action. Then, for the person who has explored fully beyond the confines of his pre-existing culture and successfully realized these explorations by changing the culture, a new quality of self-definition becomes possible. Erikson names this possibility "integrity." The person who achieves integrity can experience and express his role not merely in terms of the current society, but in broader terms--in historical terms, in terms of man's cosmic role on earth.

INSERT I (next page)

~~Studying this theory,~~ I noted some surprising correspondences among various stages. For example, "autonomy," "identity," and "integrity" all seemed to have in common a quality of self-definition, of recognition of the boundary separating oneself from, and relating oneself to, one's environment. "Initiative" and "intimacy" seemed to have in common a quality extending oneself beyond one's boundaries, testing new modes of relationship to the environment. "Industry" and "generativity" seemed to have in common a quality of producing a product, of enacting a behavior, of expressing oneself, or of creating something to which the environment responds favorably. I noticed further that these correspondences could be visualized by rearranging the stages into three columns, as follows:



This rearrangement of the stages preserves Erikson's sequence if read from left to right and from top to bottom.

The next question that presented itself to me was, can the columns and rows be named? Naming the columns seemed fairly straightforward, since it involved summarizing the correspondences among the stages that I had already intuitively noticed. I named the left column "relational experiment-

INSERT I

p. 353

Before trying to show in any detail how these stages might be translated into organizational terms, I will describe how I recast them into a matrix which throws into relief some major correspondences and discontinuities implicit in the theory. But the reader may already be able to imagine some of the organizational analogies to these stages. For example, the issues of developing trust between baby and environment may be analogous to issues of capitalization or funding in new organizations. And a child's initiatives may be analogous to organizational experimentation with different structures or ways of delivering services.

Before I made any such translations from the individual to the organizational scale, ation," the middle column "successful environmental manifestation," and the right column "self-recognition."* — (see insert 7 for single-spaced footnote).

Next, names for the rows: the differences among the three stages in the "self-recognition" column suggested differentiating physical autonomy from social identity from historical or cosmic integrity. This differentiation of physical from structural from cosmic struck a familiar note. In my previous thought (which appears in Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness) I had distinguished three qualities, or levels, of experience, calling them "behavior," "structure," and "consciousness." In the previous chapter on collaboration, the reader will recall that I used still other terms for three qualities of experience, naming them "content," "process," and "spirit." And in presenting the theory of liberating organizational structure in Chapter 10, I used a plethora of different words to characterize three qualities of experience (p.232). Although I wish to assert that all these differentiations refer to essentially the same phenomena, I have so far resisted using a single set of terms in all cases because I fear that others would thereby be encouraged to adopt or resist a particular terminology rather than to test for these qualities in the varieties and subtleties of their own experience.

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*The reader may note something of a correspondence between these terms and the more abstract terms of the dialectic: thesis, synthesis, antithesis. In relational experimentation, the person (or other system) operates in a qualitatively new way, tries out positive new possibilities. In successful environmental manifestation, the person molds the experiments into a skill that expresses himself and is of use to the enviornment, thus achieving a synthesis between self and environment. In self-recognition, the person differentiates himself from the envirorment, determining his limits, recognizing in what ways he is an antithesis to the environment. A second kind of synthesis (or, in Hegel's term, "Erhebung" - "uplifting") occurs in the transition from level to level when the appropriate midwifery is at hand. Thus, movement through this model differs from the classical notion of the dialectic by interposing a second kind of synthesis (perhaps we should call it an "Erniedrigung"-"a lowering," "a stepping down") between thesis and antithesis. Moreover, the model introduces a "vertical" dialectic (among the levels of experience) to complement the "horizontal" dialectic. For growth both a "horizontal" and "upward" effort through time and a receptivity to a timeless "downward flowing" grace is necessary on the part of the individual (or other system).

and on the importance of the modalities of "holding on" and "letting go" at this stage (1959, p. 69). Using the term "social" to refer to the initiative, industry, and identity stages seems to correspond to Erikson's emphasis on the growing child's exploration, mastery, and self-definition within social structures.

HISTORICAL OR COSMIC LEVEL

Using the terms "historical" or "cosmic" to refer to Erikson's intimacy, generativity, and integrity stages may, however, appear to the reader already familiar with Erikson's theory to stretch or distort his meaning of the terms. ~~He~~ Erikson does suggest that the three stages have something in common by naming them "Three Stages of Adulthood." But his stages appear to describe processes relatively common among adults, whereas my terms "historical" and "cosmic" seem to prescribe processes relatively uncommon among adults. For example, he speaks of intimacy as follows: "...It is only after a reasonable sense of identity is established that real intimacy with the other sex (or, for that matter, with any other person or even with oneself) is possible...The surer (a youth) becomes of himself, the more he seeks (interpersonal intimacy) in the form of friendship, combat, leadership, love and inspiration (1959, p. 95)." Of generativity he says, "(it) is primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation... (1959, p. 97)." Nothing in these words suggests uncommon processes of "historical" or "cosmic" proportions.

Only when he describes the stage of integrity does Erikson write in such a way as to suggest that its achievement is relatively uncommon. He begins his description as follows: "Only he who in some way has taken care of things and people and has adapted himself to the triumphs and disappointments of being, by necessity, the originator of others and the generator of things and ideas--only he may gradually grow the fruit of the seven stages (1959, p. 98)." And, as if recognizing that he has begun to sound prescriptive rather than descriptive, he immediately follows his discussion of integrity with the comment: "At this point, I have come close to overstepping the limits...that separate psychology from ethics (1959, p. 99)."

I believe Erikson's problem here stems from a false dichotomy between description and prescription, between science and ethics.*

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*In fact, every concept implies both description and prescription, both a measurement and a standard for measurement. Thus, the concept "chair" describes certain phenomena commonly found around homes and offices only if, and to the extent that, these phenomena fit the prescription of a chair implicit in that concept. Now, since chairs are so common and since persons sharing our language and culture tend to agree quite easily about what objects fit this concept, we ordinarily focus on the descriptive quality of the concept "chair" rather than on its prescriptive quality. Also, since chairs cannot hear us and cannot make choices about future behavior in response to what we say, we never think of ourselves as making an ethical judgment when we decide that something is or is not a chair.

On the other hand, if we say to another person, "You have no integrity," this may sound like a pure ethical judgment. "Integrity" probably sounds like a good thing and lack of integrity like a bad thing, and the assertion that someone lacks integrity would imply to many people that that person ought to gain integrity. But it would be true that this person ought to gain integrity (indeed, the statement would make sense) only if all the following conditions are met: (1) the person is free to choose different behavior in the future; (2) it is his intention to develop integrity; (3) the concept "integrity" means the same thing to the speaker and the person spoken to (i.e. they agree on the standards and measures for determining the presence or absence of integrity); (4) the person spoken to trusts the speaker's actual measurement in this case.

This little detour suggests several conclusions: (1) although common distinctions are habitually regarded as solely descriptive and uncommon distinctions are often regarded as prescriptive rather than descriptive, all statements concerning human affairs imply both measurement(description) and a standard of measurement(prescription). (2) a person may be so unaware of this and other implicit qualities of statements concerning human affairs

And I believe that, because he treated this dichotomy as important and wished to avoid appearing to prescribe uncommon standards for others, Erikson offered a less clear discussion of the last three stages than of the others. Indeed, the most striking evidence for this proposition is how much he doesn't say: he treats the three adult stages in four pages after devoting forty pages to the five earlier stages!

Erikson also provides indications in what he does say that achieving intimacy and generativity requires an unusual realization of a historical or cosmic quality in a person. He ends his discussion of intimacy with the following:

> Orgastic potency...means not the discharge of sex products in the sense of Kinsey's "outlets" but heterosexual mutuality, with full genital sensitivity and with over-all discharge of tension from the body. This is a rather concrete way of saying something about a process which we really do not understand. But the idea clearly is that the experience of the climactic mutuality of orgasm provides a supreme example of the mutual regulation of complicated patterns and in some way appeases the potential rages caused by the daily evidence of the oppositeness of male and female, of fact and fancy, of love and hate, of work and play. Satisfactory sex relations make sex less obsessive and sadistic control superfluous. But here the prescription of psychiatry faces overwhelming inner prejudices and situational

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cont.

that the explicit content of a statement he makes directly contradicts these implications and makes the statement existentially untrue, inoperable in terms of realizing the spirit of truth, indeed a destructive, ultimately meaningless interruption; (3) the statement "You have no integrity" is not necessarily an ethical judgment (prescription): it may be meaningless; (4) if the statement is an ethical judgment (i.e. if it meets the four conditions), it is also a scientific statement (description) since conditions 3 and 4 summarize the scientific project. (This discussion may somewhat elucidate my even briefer reference in the previous chapter [p.346] to the interdependence of judgment and social research.)

> limitations in parts of the population whose sense of identity is based on the complete subordination of sexuality and, indeed, sensuality to a life of toil, duty, and worship. Here only gradual frank discussion can clarify the respective dangers of traditional rigidity and abrupt or merely superficial change. (1959, p. 96-97)

There are many intimations in these words that intimacy refers not to an ordinary adult relationship but to an extraordinary relationship, indeed to a relationship that transcends everyday cultural dichotomies such as love-hate or work-play and thereby confronts "overwhelming inner prejudices and situational limitations." Orgastic potency means more than merely the ability to have sexual intercourse, so much more that "we really do not understand."

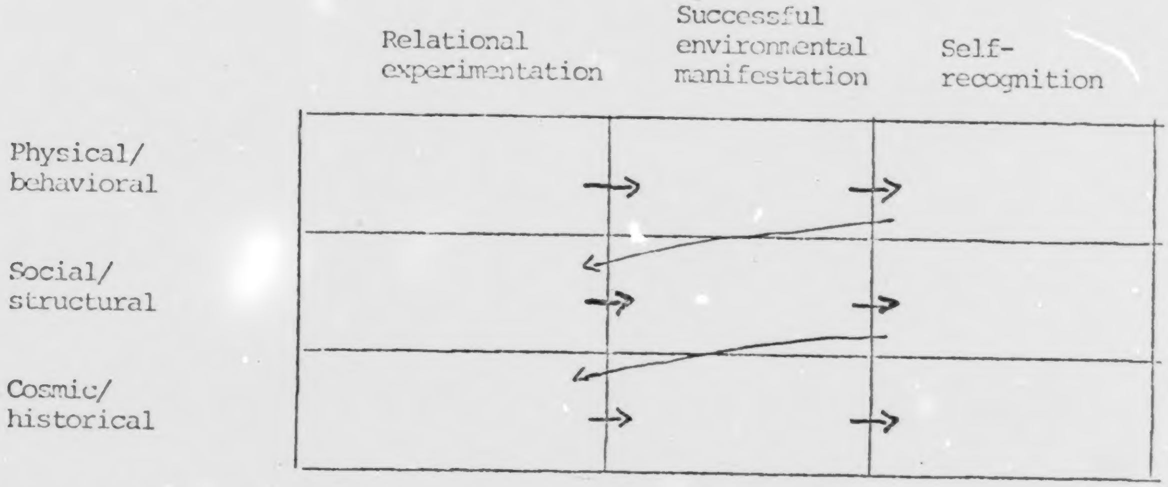
In his single paragraph on generativity, Erikson's reference to its extraordinary, or rather extra-cultural, quality occurs in the conclusion to the sentence I quoted earlier as evidence of his treatment of generativity as a common phenomenon. To repeat and complete his statement:

> Generativity is primarily the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation, although there are people who, from misfortune or because of special and genuine gifts in other directions, do not apply this gift to offspring but to other forms of altruistic concern and creativity, which may absorb their kind of parental responsibility.

This formulation makes all forms of creativity other than parenthood appear as alternatives which exclude parenthood rather than complementing it. Thus, it makes the creative transformation of culture appear like an unusual process not only in current practice but of necessity. I see no reason why this should be so. Indeed, Erikson's description of generativity would be more nearly analogous to his description of intimacy if he regarded parenthood as exemplary of the stage and proceeded to suggest, as he does in the case of sexual intimacy, that creative parenthood is actually a rare phenomenon.

These investigations and reformulations hopefully provide a clearer context for naming the three final stages in the bottom row of my model "cosmic" or "historical". I may, however, have created one misapprehension that I would like to clear up. My various references to connotations of the unusual and the extraordinary in the terms "cosmic" and "historical," as well as in the three stages they are intended to refer to, may suggest to the reader that I mean that these stages are necessarily restricted to the rare men and women who win a place in history by virtue of their efforts to enact their own cosmic role with integrity and to help mankind discover and fulfill its cosmic role. I do not mean this. I do believe that up until our time only rare men and women have envisioned and practiced this kind of effort in their daily lives ~~(and they have not necessarily been recognized by history for doing so, although they recognized it)~~. I also believe that at any one time some persons more fully appreciate and enact the essence of this effort than others and therefore more successfully share and spread its enactment. And I also believe that, especially in the early moments (years) of approaching this effort, excessive aims and claims can, and often do, kill the (necessarily hidden) ovum. In principle, these barriers do not prevent any of us from struggling toward an understanding and enactment of this effort and then practicing this effort in search of the cosmic rhythm which enacts us, each step drawing us closer to this vision and, just as surely, destroying it for a more far-sighted vision. In practice, these barriers may prevent us all from so evolving.

Now we can see the outline of the entire model:


Relational experimentation
Successful environmental manifestation
Self-recognition
Physical/ behavioral
Social/ structural
Cosmic/ historical

IRTH, TRUST, AND DEATH

The reader will recall that the first two boxes of the top row are still empty. If we ask what stage occurs before autonomy (which appears in the Physical/self-recognition box), Erikson's answer is "trust." I did not discuss this stage when I first introduced the model because, initially, the concept of trust does not appear to share much in common with the concepts of industry and generativity (at least, it didn't to me). After all, in what sense can we say that a baby works for his living? What does a baby produce? But once we develop the concept of "Successful environmental manifestation," awkward as the terminology is, we can begin to see that the trust stage may indeed have something in common with the industry and generativity stages. What is at issue for the baby in the trust stage is whether he can get a favorable response from his environment for his physical needs. Sometimes the baby is regarded as "utterly dependent" on his mother and thus in quite a different posture from the youth who decides independently to train himself to play baseball well. But, in fact, the youth playing baseball is just as dependent on the pre-established structure of the game of baseball as the baby is upon the physical presence of his mother. Similarly, I would argue that the generative person, while as free from social structure as the youth playing baseball is free from the physical presence of his mother, is as dependent upon cosmic nurturance as is youth upon social structure and baby upon mother. I would also argue from the other side that the baby is in fact not "utterly dependent" upon his mother in the dominance-submission connotation of this word. Erikson uses terms like "mutuality" and "mutual regulation" to describe this relationship at its best. (1959, p. 59). He says that it is not so much the quantitative amount of attention focused upon the baby that engenders a sense of trust in him or her, but rather the quality of the relationship (1959, p. 63). What this can mean was beautifully illustrated for me when a father told me that his five-month old son enormously enjoyed being danced with to music; held closely, but moved in ever new ways. If the father became lackadaisical and habitual about his dancing, repeating the same pattern, the baby soon tired and began to whimper; if the father became more creative, the baby responded joyfully within seconds. Neither father nor son unilaterally controlled this process; instead, they play together, each creatively responding to the other. This quality of relationship may be an important precursor to a man's later possibility for loving his work and generating lovable work, rather than being compulsive about, or alienated from, work.

When we ask what is the stage before trust, what is the Physical/Relational Experimentation stage, Erikson is no longer any help for he mentions no such stage. It seems fairly self-evident, though, that birth itself qualifies as both the major experiment of a baby as a physically separate being, transcending by this experiment its previous state as organ of the mother's body, and as the introduction to possible experiments with qualitatively new kinds of relationships--relationships with physically external beings and objects.

This last stage, which takes us beyond Erikson's theory, introduces two other ways in which the model I have built can take us beyond his theory. First, the birth stage points back to a pre-physical-behavioral level, the level of the organs, which in the case of the foetus can be divided into the stages of conception, pregnancy (for lack of any obvious word that might better communicate the mutuality of this process), and development of hominid humanoid form with its own subordinate organ systems. "Below" the level of the organ, we could presumably distinguish further levels, such as the molecular and atomic. At the other "end" of the model, it is provocative to consider death as introducing the next level of relational experimentation beyond integrity. So, the model points beyond itself.

Second, we know that birth is potentially a traumatic process, with a very high chance of death relative to any other particular time in a person's life; and the quality of preparation by the mother and the quality of the midwifery make a very obvious difference in the likelihood of trauma or logical fashion at the break-transition between each pair of levels. Trauma and death are less visible at the point of transition between the physical and social levels for several reasons: (1) because thought, feeling, and culture are not physically visible; (2) because cultures are generally prepared to socialize children; and (3) because in our culture parents undertake much of the task of midwifery in the privacy of their homes. Still, we can see trauma and social death in extreme instances of cultural unpreparedness, such as Helen Keller's upbringing, deaf and dumb and totally separated from the social world of language, until the miracle worker arrived with little-known (cultural) tools of instruction and an incredible dedication to her midwifery. Another example is Colin Turnbull's The Lonely African (1962) which tells of the disorientation and inward death of Africans torn between tribal and Western cultures. Other scholars recount the social and sometimes even eventual physical deaths of emotionally and physically isolated children, whose parents have forfeited their role as social midwives (Bettelheim, 1969; Davis, 1947).

Trauma and death at the point of transition between the social and cosmic levels tend to be still less visible because cosmic rhythms, intuitions, and lifetime-forms are not visible to ordinary, merely outward perception (see Castaneda, 1971 and Steiner 1947 on the difficulties of, and preparations for, spiritual "seeing") and because, ironically, trauma and death are so common at this transition that birth into a higher reality is virtually unimaginable. For example, the gradual process of rigidification of ideas and feelings into crystallized patterns unchanged by experience, which we observe in most persons as they grow older, is often taken to be a normal and inevitable process of life rather than a sign of spiritual death. On the other hand, the concept of death in life and rebirth in the spirit is expressed in the original writings of the great religions and in other myths (Campbell, 1949), and, just recently, we have begun to see increasing numbers of autobiographical accounts of efforts and traumas in the quest of the grace of spiritual rebirth (Ouspensky, 1949: Herrigel, 1953; Kazantzakis, 1965; Castaneda, 1969, 1971, 1972; Reymond, 1971; Lilly, 1972). (Without discussing it here, I note that this analysis prompts us to ask what are the analogues at the Cosmic/Historical level to "preparation by the mother" and "midwifery" at the Physical/Behavioral level.)

Why is it that although persons commonly achieve the social level of development they very rarely achieve the cosmic level of development?

THE INFLUENCE OF BUREAUCRATIC ORGANIZATION

This question directs us for the first time to apply this model to the quality of our culture and the quality of our organizations. When I first studied Erikson's description of the industry stage in children, I was struck by the analogy to bureaucratic organizational structures. At the industry stage, youth compete to win, striving toward superior competence, taking the rules of the game for granted as natural and just. Bureaucracy models itself after such a game, creating a fixed set of rules as to goals, roles, authority, and communications patterns for particular jobs, within which the job-holder is presumed to work more efficiently as he questions the structure less. Job-holders who have not developed past the industry stage probably appreciate and perform well in such a structure, but at the same time the structure itself will tend to inhibit them from further personal development. Meanwhile, to the degree that a person has developed or is motivated to develop beyond the industry stage, he will tend to be frustrated by bureaucratic structures and will withdraw his energies from them or try to change them, thus disturbing their equilibrium from within. Also, to the degree that the external environment is turbulent and changing, it will exert pressures on bureaucratic structures to adapt, thus disturbing their equilibrium from without. But, since the bureaucratic system is open only at the behavioral level and not at the structural level (i.e. it can take in new inputs, plant, or personnel and produce some product or service for the environment, but it has no built-in process for restructuring its goals, roles, etc.), it tends to ignore disequilibria, or to respond inappropriately, or to undergo a traumatic crisis, or, the most recent popular tactic, to develop a leadership which attempts to leapfrog over crises by conglomerating organizations.

Despite these problems, bureaucracy continues at this time to be the predominant organizational form in modern society. Moreover, ~~At the same time,~~ there are indications that the predominant influences in our culture as a whole can be characterized in much the same way. Certainly, our predominant value and reward systems revolve around the financial and material benefits of playing the career game well. It's whether you win or lose that matters, not how you play the game. From early childhood middle class children tend to be socialized to be "achievement-oriented." Adam Smith's "invisible hand" and John Stuart Mill's "free marketplace of ideas" both support this atmosphere by implying that it is unnecessary to attend to structural and processual variables--they will take care of themselves and of us if we will just take them for granted. Although there are plenty of sophisticated arguments against these positions, their legacy of laissez-faire liberalism still permeates many of our presuppositions and attitudes. Furthermore, I suspect that in an ironic way our long history of undisturbed constitutional government also contributes to our closedness to structural change. At least, one rarely sees fundamental recallibration of our system of government seriously discussed (for an exception see Price,), despite the nominal openness of the constitutional process to such recallibration. The recent significant restructuring of the Democratic party and its 1972 convention was a rare example of this process in our political history.

We can find further evidence for the social and organizational predominance of structural closedness by turning from a macroscopic to a microscopic level of analysis and observing how people characteristically work and make decisions together. A decision-making process that reflects structural closedness would be one that does not explicitly acknowledge and experiment with alternative possible ways of structuring problems, nor with the alternative value systems that alternative structures presuppose, and does not confront and resolve the emotional commitments and reactions of various participants to such alternatives. (Implicit in this argument is the view that people's emotions come into play increasingly as decisions more explicitly concern core values rather than mere questions of utility.) A decision-making process reflecting structural closedness would also implicitly create a climate encouraging conformity to the implicit values of the operative but unexamined structure.

Argyris (1969) has found that precisely such a climate--one in which experimenting and statements of feeling almost never occur, and in which conformity is encouraged more than individuality--exists in every organizational group he has studied in business, consulting, government, research and development laboratories, and university settings. (I introduced this finding earlier in the discussion of the core staff development, Chapter 9, p.). Moreover, in examining social psychological literature, Argyris found that social psychological theories were formulated as if this were the only kind of social process possible. Indeed, in another place (Argyris, 1970) he shows that the environments and relationships created by social scientists in order to generate knowledge (e.g. laboratory experiments, questionnaires) reproduce the same kind of social process that bureaucratic organizations do. Thus, Social science as it is currently conceived and practiced itself reflects the industry stage mode of functioning. I have already referred to one symptom of this kind of science when I discussed the belief that description can be dichotomized from prescription, fact from value (see footnote, p.356).

Considering these various strands of evidence about the predominant quality of organizational structures and the cultural climate, we can understand more clearly why individuals commonly achieve the social level of development but very rarely achieve the cosmic level of development. Their social milieu tends to pressure them toward the industry stage as children and then to retard them from further development thereafter. Because in this mode the given structure is regarded as the basis of order, it tends to permeate the way all activity in the society is organized, rather than yielding to varied modes of organizing, depending upon the purpose or problem or age group involved.

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Richard Nixon's thought illustrates how the bureaucratic mode can become a total worldview rather than merely a way of organizing subordinates' work efficiently. In an interview with Saul Pett of the San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle (January 14, 1973, A-11), Nixon focused first on a quantitative measure of his own productivity as President: "I haven't had to miss a day because of illness. I thought that was some kind of record but I find that Truman beat it, except he didn't do it in an elected four-year term. So, I'm the first four-year President who hasn't missed a day in office...."

The hint of competitiveness in the former statement is amplified by the next topic to which Nixon turned: "I believe in the battle, whether it's the battle of a campaign or the battle of this office, which is a continuing battle. It's always there wherever you go. I, perhaps, carry it more than others because that's my way....The worst thing you can do in this job is to relax, let up....You can't be relaxed. The Redskins were relaxed in their last game of the regular season and they were flat and they got clobbered." Here Nixon very explicitly expresses his worldview as a matter of personal faith, using competitive situations of low trust (the battle) and pre-defined structure (the football game) to exemplify life as a whole.

The interview repeatedly shows Nixon's tendency to conceive of reality in dichotomous terms. The most interesting example occurs when he dichotomizes men and women, in the midst of attributing this very same tendency to women: "To most women, things look black or white: a man tends to roll with events." The example of dichotomous thinking which often recurs in Nixon's

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comments during the interview is the division between reason and emotion, between objectivity and subjectivity, between the political and the personal. He believes that these "opposites" ought to be kept separated and he works hard to separate them in his own life.

It does not occur to Nixon that emotions provide information about one's relationship to the rest of the world, which, if treated openly with the other parties to the relationship, can result in reasonable dialogue and ecstatic resolutions. Such a scenario presupposes an ability to develop sufficient trust to risk increasingly significant degrees of openness. Or, to put it another way, such a scenario presupposes an ability to restructure the relationship. Neither of these abilities belong within the consciously appropriated experience of a person operating within the bureaucratic worldview, so it is hardly surprising that Nixon does not envision a dialogue between reason and emotion.

Instead, he says: "I never allow myself to get emotional....I find to handle crises the most important qualities one needs are balance, objectivity and an ability to act coolly....I never watch TV commentators or the news shows when they are about me. That's because I don't want decisions influenced by personal emotional reactions....Decision makers can't be affected by current opinion, by TV barking at you and commentators banging away with the idea that World War III is coming because of the mining of Haiphong nor can decisions be affected by the demonstrators outside....I probably am more objective -- I don't mean this as self-serving -- than most leaders....When you're too subjective you tend to make mistakes."

There can be no doubt that pure subjectivity leads to mistakes. The irony is that when objectivity can be achieved only at the price of

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eliminating from consideration all "subjective" responses in oneself and in the body politic, then one has eliminated the very information which politics at its best reasons from. Thus, one retreats from confrontation and dialogue among visions, postures, and values to a battle in which one "bets on" one's own subjective vision and "backs it to the hilt." In short, Nixon's kind of objectivity inevitably becomes solipsistic subjectivity over time *as a direct result of his resistance to subjectivity* at any one time.

Nixon may succeed in keeping his subjectivity, the irony of the situation, and the ultimate contradiction in his behavior and thought below his threshhold of awareness. Even this "achievement," however, is severely threatened by the increasingly tight feedback loops which emerging cybernetic society provides for public behavior, as exemplified by the Watergate crisis and the televised Senate hearings during the summer of 1973.

The bureaucratic mode must be treated as a pathological expression of the organizational analogue to the industry stage of individual development. For the games to which a youth is introduced are not necessarily closed to structural change ~~at the social level~~ as is bureaucracy, even if the youth initially chooses to take their structure for granted. A youth can learn judo by copying and working with someone already proficient, treating the whole exercise as merely concerning an outward skill. But the rhetoric and practice of judo is not confined to this level and does not confine the learner to it. It carries the question of how to remain balanced while in motion to each level--the physical, the emotional or intellectual, and the spiritual. When the learner wishes to raise such questions, they will not contradict the structure of the game. Instead, encouraged to pursue his questioning, the learner may come to a different sense, appreciation, and understanding of the structure of judo (us, judo exemplifies [illegible] organizational structure, p2 ff.), ¶As one stage of growth, leading from and to other stages, there is nothing pathological about learning to play games well according to pre-defined structures that one (for the time) takes for granted. In a mature culture, such games will be fully and truly educational. They will help to open the individual to the next stage of growth as he masters the given stage. ¶But how does a culture as a whole transcend itself? What are the ironic games through which the cosmos seeks to educate us? The answers may be blowing in the wind, but we will have to ask the questions as a community in emergency before they are likely to reveal themselves to us. In the meantime, our culture will continue to appear fixated at the mental and emotional age of about 12, and will continue to frustrate personal development beyond that age.*

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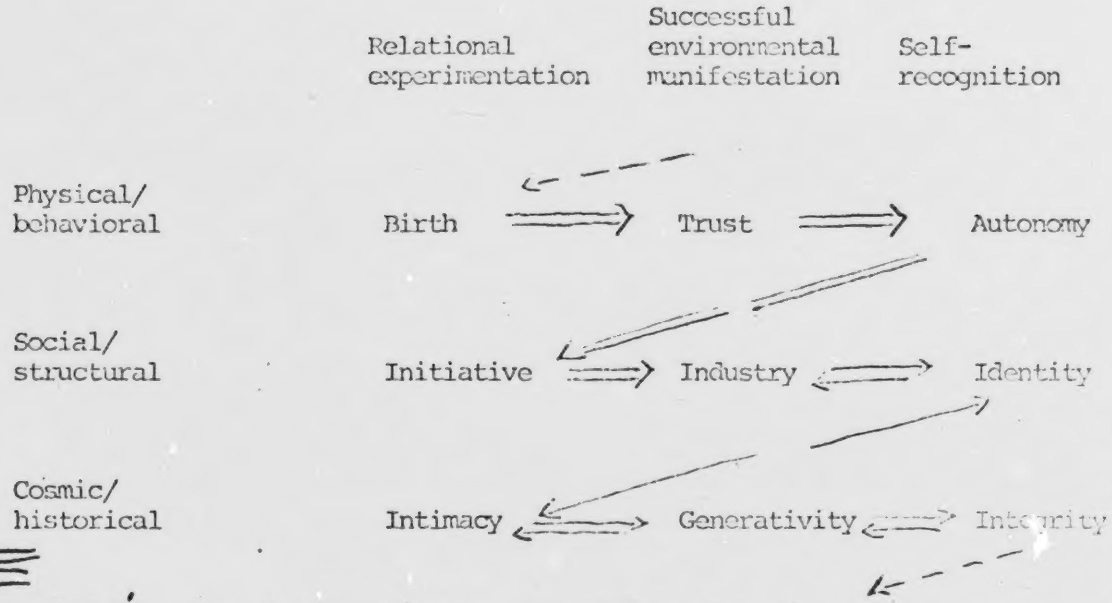
This deductive analysis of the pathology inherent in the bureaucratic mode of organizing is confirmed inductively by Chris Argyris in a career of empirical research, review of the literature, and theorizing (1957,1965,1972). He argues that pyramidal structures tend particularly to infantilize their lower level employees whose jobs are most tightly pre-structured. In an earlier study I traced how such infantilization on the job was correlated with impoverished leisure lives and impoverished political expression (1972).

Finally, we can draw the completed model of individual development in our society. The rows and columns have been named, the boxes filled, other levels of reality pointed to, the breaks between levels discussed, and the pressures accelerating development toward the industry stage and retarding development beyond it illustrated.* [illegible]

*(What must be reemphasized because the diagram does not make it obvious is that the model does not make successful resolution of each stage a precondition for entry to the next stage. Thus, a child may emerge from the trust stage with a basic distrust of others, and an adult may emerge from the intimacy stage with a sense of isolation from others.)



	Relational experimentation	Successful environmental manifestation	Self-recognition
Physical/ behavioral	Birth	Trust	Autonomy
Social/ structural	Initiative	Industry	Identity
Cosmic/ historical	Intimacy	Generativity	Integrity

FOUNDATIONAL COMMUNITY – THE ORGANIZATIONAL ANALOGUE TO INTIMA

I have already introduced a discussion of how this model might be applied to the development of organizations by characterizing bureaucracy as a pathological example of the stage analogous to "industry". Next, I would like to make some theoretical and practical comments about the organizational stage analogous to the intimacy stage of individual development.

The choice to discuss this stage next is not arbitrary, but rather derives from the insight that has seemed terribly obvious to me since it occurred to me--that the development of genuine intimacy is the creation of organization.

Each person transcends himself in genuine intimacy with others, experiencing a new form of relationship, seeing himself anew, and gradually in essence, through his fundamental encounters with these others, reconstituting his worldview and values, and exploring the concrete realization of new possibilities. The persons who develop intimacy discover-create a shared spirit permeating their different and changing ways of structuring the world. They commit themselves to the subtle stability of the spirit as an ultimate source of individuality and community. Such persons are gradually released from dependence on particular behaviors and structures as they struggle toward ellucidation, reformation, and inspiration. Instead, they recognize their everyday lives, together and apart, as particular symbols of cosmic intent. Increasingly, as they learn to remain centered and dispersed in the shared spirit of each act and situation they organize their lives, rather than collusively permitting themselves to be confined (organized) by pre-existing cultural categories. Before this, they may appear organized and indeed be organized, but they do not organize.

It is in this sense that intimacy creates organization. It is at this stage that individual and organizational development become co-terminous. To give this organizational possibility a name such as "foundational community" is to do no more than to provide other words for the experience of genuine intimacy. By contrast, at earlier stages of individual development a gap always exists between subjective experience and the organizational reality. Thus, it is precisely a characteristic of the industry stage that the individual does not directly and fully appreciate the quality of the organizational structures of the various games he plays, but rather takes them for granted.

In theory, then, foundational community is the source and expression of full collaboration. Such collaboration can, in turn, generate liberating symbols, disciplines, and structures which increasingly attune the individuals "within" them to their own potential for restructuring their lives in association with one another--which, in other words, invite others into this spiritual community. These liberating forms evidence an organizational stage of development analogous to the generativity stage of individual development.

I believe that these ideas reflect directly on my experience at Upward Bound. I wished to and tried to create an organization. In a conventional sense I did so. But I never truly succeeded. Some of us touched the edges of a shared spirit, but this tentative centering and dispersal would not hold against the fragmenting demands of everyday experience.

For example, Greg and I had dreamed the school together, but we were unable to share our dream convincingly in the course of our further organizing, so it was considerably diluted in practice. At the end of the first summer, Greg again deeply influenced the way I organized my past and prospective experience when he remarked my failure to relate deeply to the staff; but his feedback did not penetrate me deeply enough at the time for a new spirit to permeate my relationships with others. Instead, I made some deliberate efforts to change, but maintained many of the habitual elements of style that kept unnecessary distance between me and others. The core staff in its research and preparation meetings of the second winter again approached a reorganizing sense of shared spirit, perhaps best exemplified by Valery's realization of how she had colluded in developing her imprisoning role and by her subsequent liberation from it. But once again this shared spirit was momentary. Even as this shared spirit enabled us to generate a powerful liberating structure for the selection of the new staff, the tentative cohesion of the core staff, began to disintegrate in the turbulent eddies this structure created.

I had not achieved the intimacy stage in my personal development, nor did I during the course of the program. Therefore, I could not succeed in creating an organization which fully transcended the polarizations--between black and white, between radical and conservative, between research and action, between individual freedom and communal responsibility, between work and play--implicit in the competitive version of reality posited by the "bureaucratic" stage.

STRUCTURAL PARTICULARIZATION-THE ORGANIZATIONAL ANALOGUE TO IDENTITY

I think that I had, however, completed the identity stage successfully. I had achieved, through a particular synthesis of personal inclination and social opportunity, a socially and personally valued role as an administrator in innovative educational programs. Moreover, I was aware, however partially, that my identity represented a deepening, not an ending, to my search for the sources of right action with others--and this particularly so given the role I had chosen and the social era in which we lived. In other words, I already experienced the dilemma of intimacy--the dilemma of how to relate to Others or to an Other, desired yet felt as deeply alien, in a way that enhances each rather than compromises or objectifies us. I believe I was detached enough from my identity by virtue of my concern to traverse the distance to others that I could permit others--indeed the program as a whole--to develop and enact identities different from mine.

Although I did not succeed in creating an organization which fully transcended the deep polarizations embodied within it, I believe my stage of development did enable me to encourage others and the program as a whole to develop unique identities.* Thus, the second summer session was characterized by a deliberate overall structure and many well-defined sub-groups such as the staff black family meetings, the tutor groups in the dorms, and Henry Aston's SUB Club. Indeed, the gathering identity-awareness and identity-strength of persons and groups was responsible for their ability to come into confrontation with one another (while the incompleteness and insecureness of their identities was responsible for the relatively destructive character of the confrontation).**

This discussion of the effect of my personal stage of development on my leadership, and of my leadership, in turn, on the stage of development achieved by the program as a whole, should be seen in the context of the influence exerted by the social environment of the late Sixties. Although I believe that my leadership encouraged the development of a particular, ~~particularized~~ openly chosen structure for our program rather than imposing a predefined structure, this tendency was certainly also encouraged by the various liberation movements which were springing up about the country and challenging each group of "oppressors" and "oppressed" to become more self-conscious, more self-accepting, and more responsible for the effects of their behavior.

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*I have tried to provide enough material in the body of the story for the reader to test this judgment.

**See Adam Curle's Making Peace and Mystics and Militants for a simple and lucid description of the role of confrontation in positive identity development and the development of genuinely peaceful relationships.

This discussion begins to introduce us to the way the identity stage manifests itself on the organizational scale. At this stage, the organization moves from an emphasis on proficient pre-~~structured~~ defined productivity to an emphasis on defining a particular structure for this particular organization based on its particular history. I will call this organizational stage "~~structural particularization~~ openly chosen structure."

EXPERIMENTAL STRUCTURES-THE ORGANIZATIONAL ANALOGUE TO INITIATIVE

Having glimpsed the organizational analogues to the industry, identity, and intimacy stages of individual development, and having characterized these organizational stages as "pre-~~structured~~ defined productivity," "~~structural particularization,~~ openly chosen structure" and "foundational community," we can turn now to the earlier stages.

Its legal "in-corporation" would seem to be a logical "birth-day" for an organization. This proposition, however, immediately confronts us with some additional complexities in applying our model of individual development to organizations. For, according to this proposition, what is the most tangible, physical stage on the scale of the individual becomes a relatively intangible, social agreement--a new appendage to the legal structure--on the organizational scale. Indeed, this language about organizational birth corresponds much more closely to the initiative stage in ~~our~~ the model of individual development--to a new experiment at the social-structural level--than to the birth stage at the physical level.

This difference in birth stages on the individual and organizational scales makes sense if we look at the three levels or rows of the model as coexistent, even if for a given individual or organization they are sequential. Viewed as coexistent, the physical level is represented by the physically embodied person, the structural level is represented by the legally embodied organization, and the cosmic level is represented by the historically embodied culture. Thus, just as physical birth begins the individual dialectic, so structural incorporation begins the organizational dialectic.*

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*There is a long history of scholarly argument about the validity of analogies between organism and organization. Obviously, I find it very fruitful to treat individual and organization as analogous. However, the two are also obviously different, and I believe the distinction I am pursuing here and in the next pages specifies the essential differences between individual and organization. The difference can be stated as a difference in scale and also as a difference in our relation to the phenomenon. Put another way an individual's body is as crucial to his life as an organization's structure is to its life. An organization can survive the loss of its "body" (physical plant) just as an individual can survive the loss of an organ.

Following this logic, the birth of a new culture corresponds to the intimacy stage in our model. This logic corresponds, in turn, with the language used earlier to evoke genuine intimacy--language such as the transcendence of pre-existing cultural categories, the reconstitution of one's world view and values, and the creation of foundational community.

I will name the organizational analogue of the initiative stage "experiment~~al structures~~s", wishing to evoke social-structural embodiment as discussed above and also the tentative and therefore sometimes plural experiments involved. For example, at Upward Bound our initial structuring as a total program occurred at the end of the first week at camp and took effect at the beginning of the second week of the first summer session. In this case, legal incorporation in the sense of the contract between O.E.O. and Yale, based on the proposal I had written following O.E.O. guidelines, had occurred earlier in the spring. In other cases, one can imagine legal incorporation occurring after the development of a working structure.

THE EARLIEST STAGES OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Given "experiment~~al structures"~~s" as the organizational analogue to initiative, yet at the same time as analogous to the birth of an individual, we return once again to the question, what are the organizational analogues to the three earliest stages of individual development? Having already found a correspondence between the physical level of individual development and the structural level of organizational development, we now look to the pre-natal stages of individual development for correspondences to the physical level of organizational development. I earlier named the pre-natal stages on the individual scale conception, pregnancy, and development of the foetus into humanoid form. Although these stages are invisible on the individual scale (without the aid of special instruments), because they occur within the mother, they are more directly visible on the organizational scale because they tend to occur among persons. Or, to put this another way, although individuals are outside one another's bodies they are "inside" cultures, and therefore have a better vantage point for seeing new structures conceived than for seeing new bodies conceived. For this reason, it seems appropriate to include the "pre-natal" stages of organizational development in a model of organizational development, whereas these stages remain merely implicit in the model of individual development.

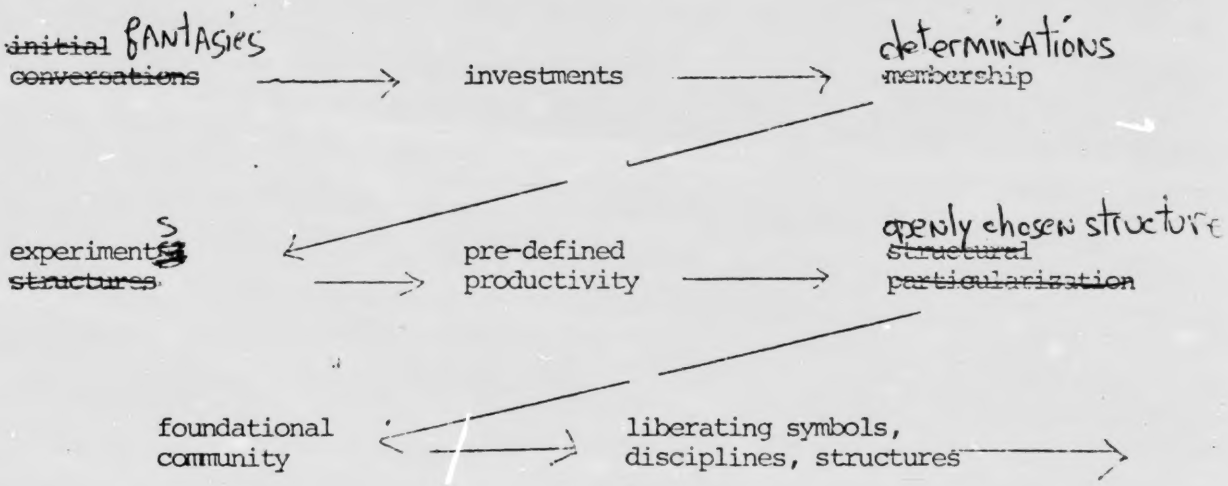
I will name the first organizational stage "fantasies ~~initial conversations~~", implying thereby the kind of dreams and conversations Greg and I engaged in (Chapter 1) before the school we imagined became feasible in the form of Yale Upward Bound.

The second stage, corresponding in one sense to the trust stage and in another sense to the amniotic nurturance of pregnancy, I will name "investments," seeking thereby to evoke the financial, social, and spiritual commitments necessary to transform a concept into a new organization. In the case of Yale Upward Bound, the initial financial commitment derived primarily from the federal government. Social commitments were made by Yale, by the staff who joined the program (meeting and working throughout the spring without pay), and by the federal government in its decisions to set up O.E.O. in the first place. As I suggest in the story (especially

Chapter 2), I regarded the program as requiring a spiritual commitment of me as a leader and as having a spiritual aim--self-directed learning.

I will name the third stage of organizational development "~~member-ship.~~" "determinations". At this stage the new organization becomes sufficiently embodied physically, with tools and regular spaces and occasions for meeting, so that persons can feel they belong--that they are members of something. Upward Bound reached this stage when we went to the camp for the first week of the first summer.

Taken together, the stages of organizational development I have named appear as follows:


~~initial conversations~~ fantasies
investments
~~membership~~ determinations
~~experiment structures~~ experiments
pre-defined productivity
~~structural particularization~~ openly chosen structure
foundational community
liberating symbols, disciplines, structures

A number of the examples I have offered to illustrate these stages suggest another implicit feature of this model: ~~not only its later development, but also~~ the degree of success with which a new organization resolves ~~the earliest stages~~ ANY STAGE of its development depends greatly upon the stage of development successfully achieved by its leadership, or parent organization, or culture. Thus, Greg's and my initial conversations about our "dream" school were incomplete in that they did not include a sense of historical stages of development such as I am now describing. Consequently, when it became apparent that our dream was too ambitious for immediate achievement we dropped it altogether, whereas it might have been precisely the sort of integrated and liberating curricular and living structure necessary for the second summer session. Or, to return to another example, my mention of the financial, social, and spiritual investments necessary to transform a new concept into a new organization presumes a leadership, parent organization, or culture developed to the point of congruently enacting the social and spiritual levels. Although rhetorically invested in programs so qualitatively new that they could change the structure of our society, O.E.O. in practice began to formulate policies that inhibited structural experimentation in Upward Bound programs (Chapter 8). Consequently, the social investment in our program was of mixed quality and after my departure influenced the program in general to cease working with the kind of students we had worked with.

To the degree that the social and spiritual investments of an organization's "parents" are untrustworthy the new organization will be inhibited from becoming truly new, will instead feel constrained and manipulated by its "parents," and will focus upon financial ("survival") issues to the exclusion of social and spiritual ("growth") issues, thus recreating an impoverished environment for its members.

If the overarching institutions of a society are not permeated by shared spirit, but rather by the competitive ethos of bureaucracy, then new organizations will tend to view their survival as constantly in jeopardy, even if they, their clientele, and objective measures all agree that they are meeting real needs. In the case of a governmental program, the legislative body may suddenly cut off funds for reasons unconnected with the program's effectiveness. In the case of a school, a new program may be opposed by some constituencies without ever assessing its effectiveness because it is different from ("and therefore competitive with") the existing program. In the case of an industrial plant, its conglomerate parent may sell it (and potentially disrupt its management) whether or not it makes a profit.

Money and all the financial considerations which surround it--the amniotic fluid of society--the expression of appropriate mutuality among and within organizations--becomes viewed as an entity in the external environment upon which the organization is dependent. Many of the organization's decisions may be discussed and made in what are purportedly purely financial terms, in terms of whether the proposed product or service or job candidate or administrative reorganization will make or save money. At the same time a great deal of "politicking" will occur in an effort to "psych out, and possibly covertly influence, the powers that be." Instead of direct confrontation among varying needs and priorities the "infant" and "parent" organizations strive to manipulate one another. These conditions indicate the pathological resolution of investments stage of organizational development.

OTHER HISTORICAL STAGE THEORIES

We can compare the historical stages I have proposed to two other schemes which have recently appeared in the organizational literature, in order to gain a greater sense of what issues each chooses to focus upon and in what way.

Gordon Lippitt and Warren Schmidt (1967) discerned the following "non-financial crises in developing organizations":

	CONCERN	ISSUE	NEEDED KNOWLEDGE BASE
1.	Creation	Risk	Leader's short-range objective
2.	Survival	Sacrifice	Community of objectives
3.	Stability	Organization	Leader's long-range plans
4.	Repute	Evaluation	Executive team planning
5.	Uniqueness	Change	Executive team helps sub-units set own objectives
6.	Contribution	Share	Management understanding of larger objectives of organization and society

Larry Greiner (1972) has distinguished five stages of historical development in business organizations, which he describes as phases of alternating evolution and revolution:

PHASE	EVOLUTIONARY MANAGEMENT STYLE		REVOLUTIONARY MANAGEMENT PROBLEM
I.	Creativity	→	Leadership
II.	Direction	→	Autonomy
III.	Delegation	→	Control
IV.	Co-ordination	→	Red Tape
V.	Collaboration		?

This theory is narrower than the Lippitt and Schmidt one in three ways. First, it depicts conditions of internal management exclusively, whereas the second and the last three categories in the Lippitt and Schmidt theory point to the relationship between the organization as a whole and its environment. Second, the Greiner theory focuses almost exclusively on control issues (only "Creativity" and "Collaboration" hint at other possible issues). It describes an oscillation between forces for centralization and forces for decentralization, whereas each of the Lippitt and Schmidt categories refers to a distinct issue. Third, the Greiner theory restricts itself vigorously to categories which are empirically observable today, whereas the last three categories of the Lippitt and Schmidt theory venture toward the ideal.

For all these reasons, we would expect less overlap between my categories and Greiner's than between mine and Lippitt and Schmidt's. Both schemes, Greiner's in particular, provide a sense of how conventional bureaucratic assumptions accelerate an organization to the stage of pre-defined productivity and then resist further development.

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The following table suggests a rough sense of the relationships among the schemes:

(Torbert)	(Lippitt & Schmidt)		(Greiner)	
1. Fantasies ~~Initial conversations~~	1.		1.	
2. Investments	2.	Creation	2.	Creativity
3. Membership Determinations	3.		3.	
4. Experiment~~al~~s ~~structures~~	4.	Survival	4.	Direction Delegation
5. Predefined productivity	5.	Stability Repute	5.	Co-ordination
6. ~~Structural particularisation~~	6.	Uniqueness	6.	Collaboration
7. Foundational community	7.	Contribution	7.	
8. Liberating disciplines	8.		8.	
9. ?	9.		9.	

The categories of both other schemes cluster around the middle category of my scheme. The first three stages of my model are lumped into one stage in Greiner's scheme ("Creativity") and two stages in Lippitt and Schmidt's scheme ("Creation" and "Survival"). The last three stages of my model are only hinted at in Greiner's scheme ("Collaboration") and are lumped into one stage in Lippitt and Schmidt's scheme ("Contribution"). Thus, I would argue that both these other schemes are considerably captivated by the bureaucratic reality they strive to illuminate. INSERT from previous page

In general, the sequence of categories in the three schemes appears mutually consistent. The one implicit exception is that Greiner views collaboration as a "late" organizational phenomenon, whereas collaboration was a hallmark of Upward Bound from the outset. Interestingly enough, he speculates that collaborative procedures may result in psychic exhaustion and withdrawal for top managers of bureaucracies. I would not be surprised if this were so because to attempt to work collaboratively is to open Pandora's box (if I may be permitted to compare my ascetic 3x3 matrix to that rich mythical symbol). All the issues carefully sealed away under conditions of bureaucratic reality invade awareness at the outset of collaboration, making a shambles of one's previous sense of order if one is at all attentive and responsive. To try to subordinate collaboration to bureaucratic goals is like trying to capture air in a wire cage--a pretty frustrating exercise, although it may succeed in airing out the cage and may even remind the person or organization that a wire cage need not be a home.

THE FIELD OF ORGANIZATION DEVELOPMENT

~~The home of the model of organizational development I have proposed~~ is ~~a field (or, to be consistent, I say...is the air above a field) called "organization development.~~" I will pause, before applying ~~it~~ the model more closely to experiences at Upward Bound, to ask how the ideas I have advanced relate to other work in th~~is~~e field~~.~~ of organization development.

The field of organization development as a whole is very young--no more than twenty-five years old. Indeed, the fields of organization theory, organization behavior, and group dynamics from which the practice of organization development eventuated, trace back only to Weber's theoretical work in the late nineteenth century, Mayo's and Roethlisberger's empirical work in the late 1920's, and Lewin's field experiments in the 1940's. The practice of helping organizations restructure themselves to better utilize their

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human resources began in the late forties and early fifties (Whyte, 1964, Coch and French, 1953, Blake, Shepart and Mouton, 1964, and Jacques, 1969, were early efforts). These efforts were reinforced in the middle fifties by theoretical contributions of McGregor (1960) and Argyris (1957) indicating the human dysfunctionalities of bureaucratic structures and proposing alternative conceptions of organization. The early sixties witnessed a spurt of investment by businesses in organizational consultants, and in the late sixties the same techniques began to be applied in educational settings.

Research on organization~~s~~ development is still primitive and follows behind practice. The Addison-Wesley series of Organization Development, short paperbacks offering case studies and some category schemes at low levels of abstraction, along with impressionistic observations about effective intervention practice, appeared in the late sixties (see particularly Beckhard, 1969, and Schein 1969). Several books applying organization development to schools have just appeared (Schmuck and Miles, 1972, Runkel et. al. 1972).

To my knowledge and in my estimation, only Lawrence and Lorsch ( ) have rigorously combined original abstract theory and empirical data gathering and only Argyris (1962,1965,1971) has rigorously combined original abstract theory and empirical data gathering with theory and behavioral data about his own intervention practice (Alderfer And Brown, 1974, emulate the Argyris Model.) This focus on intervention practice has been reinforced in a more impressionistic, case study way by Sofer (1961) and Levinson (1972) and by the case studies of intervention offered in the Journal of Applied Behavioral Science.

This sketchy history permits me to offer five summary observations of the field of organization~~al~~ development to date:

1. It has begun, but only just begun, to offer studies of the way an actor (researcher/consultant) can integrate theory, research, and action with more or less effectiveness. This integration strikes me as critically important for the future of both research and action: the action flushes out, makes explicit, and tests the intuitive and normative implications of theory; and the research encourages critical self-awareness, and hence, responsibility on the part of the actor to a degree never before feasible.

2. At the same time, organization~~al~~ development has tended to focus on established, bureaucratic organizations as settings for research and change. As a result--despite the historical connotation of the term "development"--very little attention has been paid to the creation and historical stages of organizational settings. Indeed, I know of only two behavioral science works, both relatively discursive, on the creation of settings (Goldenberg, Sarason,) and only two brief schemes of historical stages (Lippitt and Schmidt, 1967, Greiner, 1972). This contrasts with at least eight ~~works, combining~~ independent theor~~y~~ies ~~and data,~~ on historical stages in small groups.

3. Research on organization~~al~~ development has tended to focus on the role of external consultants as interventionists. I know of no case in the literature where one person has combined the roles of internal organizational leader, change agent, and researcher (although recent discursive articles by Bennis, 1972a, 1972b, point in this direction). Yet, if a healthy organization is one that moves through various stages its leader must conceive of himself as an organizational change agent, and if knowledge is essential to effective action, leaders must come to recognize themselves as researchers.

4. Probably because of the focus on established bureaucracies, usually businesses, and because of the relatively marginal investment implicit in the role of external consultant, the field of organization~~al~~ development has devoted relatively little explicit attention to the political and cultural climate permeating organizations and acts of intervention. For example, it is a peculiarly American characteristic to conceptualize life as a series of finite problems to be solved, and organization~~al~~ development tends to advertise and conceptualize itself uncritically as an aid to effective problem solving. Yet both Morris West in his novel The Ambassador and David Halberst~~man~~am in

his political analysis, The Best and the Brightest, suggest that our cultural myth of problem-solving dictated our tragic decade of ever-deeper destructiveness in Vietnam. On the other hand, the ~~process~~ commitment~~s~~ of a researcher/interventionist like Argyris to such values as valid information, free choice, and internal commitment in his actual relationships with clients is ~~are~~ not altogether apolitical. Indeed, in one sense such A commitment~~s~~ represents the most radical of political philosophies, not to any as yet defined party or ideology, but rather to a process of common inquiry and action and to whatever, upon examination, turns out to be true and meaningful for a given group of people (including the possibility that the research should cease). But, to date, the political implications of organization~~al~~ development remain NO MORE THAN implications.

5. Organization~~al~~ development has generated concepts and techniques to help persons see the congruency or incongruency between their espoused values and the actual impact of their behavior on others, or between their real feelings and the way they express themselves. In other words, unlike traditional fields of scholarship which address themselves exclusively to the cognitive aspect of truth, organization~~al~~ development

has striven to embrace the various aspects of the behavioral and structural "levels" of experience. So far, however, it has not explicitly recognized the cosmic or intuitive "level" of experience in its theories and technologies.* According to the models of human consciousness and organizational development which I am offering, the fact that both the political/cultural quality of shared experience and the cosmic/intuitive quality of inner experience remain implicit is not a chance correlation. Rather, valid appreciation of, and authentic action in relation to, cultural myths depends upon continuing intuitive awareness.**

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*As much of the inspiration for the present work toward behavioral-structural congruence derives from the "discovery" of interpersonal feedback in the early days of group dynamics, it is worth noting that much of the experimental group work of the past decade, symbolized by Esalen, has been toward recognizing and acting from the intuitive "level" of consciousness.

**And, of course, the nature of the "higher levels" as interpenetrating the "lower levels" in fact abrogates the distinction between the inner and outer, the intuitive and the political, at that "level."

THE ROLE OF THIS BOOK

In this book I am attempting to move a step further along all five dimensions. I have studied as closely as possible my behavior as a leader of a non-bureaucratic organization, and have emerged from the action and reflection with a theory of historical stages. Moreover, the correspondence between the 3x3 model for the theory and the 3x3 model of potential human consciousness presented earlier (Chapter 2, p.   ) indicates the useability of the theory in action. The various qualities and relationships of the theory can be instantaneously re-presented to oneself by attention to the corresponding qualities in oneself as one interacts in the world. Thus, the model can be used to encourage expanded awareness of the situation at hand, including its behavioral and intuitive characteristics, whereas most scientific theories encourage absorption in reflective thought--that is, they encourage an awareness contracted to but one of the nine qualities of consciousness. This contraction of awareness tends to alienate thought from action and thus contributes to inauthentic action.*

The contribution of this book to an understanding of the political/ intuitive ~~mystical~~ dimension of reality is necessarily tentative, hypothetical, and incomplete. It tells the story of an organization created in the midst of strong political currents, led by a person at the beginning of a struggle to recognize and enact the integrating intuitive currents appearing in him. Both the country's social atmosphere and my personal atmosphere at that time seemed capable of glimpsing frightening internal contradictions, of momentarily feeling deeply the fragmentation these revealed, and of being fired to action by these feelings; but incapable of sustaining the intuitive glance to witness and gradually reform our actions to contribute to a higher integration, to a more just society. Thus, the story told here underlines the scale of the personal/social task of reconstruction and points toward its end, but certainly does not evoke or exemplify full appreciation and authentic enactment of the political/~~mystical~~ intuitive dimension. Indeed, I believe that to pretend at the outset to represent with detailed accuracy the form and quality of a just society is to mislead others into escapist fantasies, when all our attention is needed for the immediate and intermediate struggle and reconciliation.

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*Most probably, the reader is, by habit, absorbed in reflective thought as he reads this. My calling his action of reacing to his attention, however, may challenge this absorption. In the same way the model could serve as a reminder of other qualities of awareness. Initially, we tend to respond to such reminders by alternating between one mode of awareness and another somewhat uncomfortably, until we forget our effort and become re-immersed in one quality alone. With the aid of proper disciplines, however, one can develop appreciation of the simultaneous play of the bridging, reconciling, and limiting moments of the behavioral, conceptual, and intuitive "levels" of experience.

To summarize, the experiential, self-critical, and collaborative qualities of the field of organization development create a certain impetus in theory and practice for established organizations to explore beyond the stage of bureaucracy toward "~~structural particularization~~ openly chosen structure" and "foundational community." Moreover, these qualities of the field indicate that it is itself in transition as a scholarly field from the stage of "pre-defined productivity" to "~~structural particularization.~~ openly chosen structure" However, until now, no study ~~of theory and practice~~ has sketched the scale, quality, and timing of such organizational changes (and their relation to the individual and epistemological changes which must occur in concert).

XVII. HISTORICAL STAGES OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT II - APPLICATION

We can now ask more precisely how the events at Upward Bound correspond to the historical model I have reformulated.

This investigation will become quite detailed by its conclusion because I wish to consider every distinct event recounted in the story about the program in Chapters 1 through 13. Rather than plunging into the details, however, I will begin by offering some broad characterizations relating to the core staff and the program as a whole over the two years. Then I will return to closer looks at each of the sub-cycles within the program--the first spring's staff meetings, the first summer session, the second spring selection process and staff meetings, and the second summer session. A number of complexities and subtleties of the theory will emerge during these reviews of events, and I will discuss these after each cycle.

BecAuse ~~Since~~ I developed this historical model after the program was over in order better to understand the sequence of events in the program, the application of the model to the same program can hardly be considered a final validation of it. Moreover, I will in some cases use the events to elaborate further on the model, a process which makes the events still less of a test of fully explicated propositions. Because I conceive of the story as an aid to theory-construction rather than as a test of an established theory, I have not attempted to develop a rigorous methodology with inter-rater reliability for categorizing particular events in particular stages of development.

On the other hand, a number of considerations prevent this review of events from being merely arbitrary and subjective. First, when I originally discovered this model I had not studied the events of the various sub-cycles in any detail, but was operating only from memory of the overall trends of the program over the two years I worked with it. Consequently, the events of the sub-cycles do stand as something of a test of the model. Second, as I mentioned above, I will categorize every event recounted in the story rather than selected events. In telling the story I made no conscious attempt to follow the stages of the model, and I also had journals and tapes to "keep me honest."

STAGES OF THE PROGRAM AS A WHOLE

The questions of ~~pre~~PARentage and conception—that is, questions about the genesis of the ~~initial conversations~~ fANTAsies founding an organization--immediately introduce both obvious and not-so-obvious aspects of applying the theory to events. In an obvious sense, O.E.O. and Yale are the two parents, with Andrew Wilson (Chapter 1, p.1, p.6) serving as midwife. The conception of this particular Upward Bound program, however, occurred in Greg's and my heads (Ch. 1, p.1, pp.5-6), relatively independent of the government and Yale. Then again, we can say that our ideas were very much influenced by the government and by Yale in that those two institutions helped to create the Yale Summer High School, in which we had spent our previous organizational 'incarnation'. But if we are to trace back to these influences, we must include on an equal par Greg's background in Platonic philosophy and my interest in organizational behavior. Evidently, many influences besides those directly ascribable to the immediate parents can preside at the moment of conception. Moreover, the individuals who participate in the initial conversations are not to be thought of as the parents of an organization. Instead, other organized structures, whether these be public occasions, ideologies or institutions, parent new organizations. And not necessarily just two, for ideas are not monogamous.

The initial conversations began between Greg and me, spread to include a number of other members of the Yale and New Haven communities, and then became formalized in the first spring meetings of advisors and potential staff members (Ch.2, pp.16-17 and Ch.3, p.1).

Several events occurred during the period following the initial conversations which indicated the development of trustworthy mutuality between the organization and the larger environment, or, in organizational terms, the necessary investments by the environment in the nascent organization. The first is that Yale had been hoping to co-sponsor the program with the college which later served as the site for the second summer's program, but that college decided not to embark upon the venture. This event turned out to be conducive to trust because a prime reason for the other college's disinterest was the lack of prospective financial profits--suggesting no intrinsic concern for the program itself--and because Yale reaffirmed its concern for the program, deciding to underwrite it alone.

(The extent of the possible harm done by an earlier affiliation to the other college was suggested by the difficulties, which its organizational atmosphere caused us during the second summer when we contracted to hold our session there. In general, this college itself could be characterized as a young organization passing from the "Initiative" or "Experiments" ~~Structuring~~ phase [during which it expanded and built a new campus] to the "Industry" or "Predefined Productivity" stage [beginning to focus on its academic standards in terms of course offerings and admissions requirements and striving to maintain its campus]. It had no time or real interest for bothersome offspring, relegating responsibility for Upward Bound to its Business Manager who was already burdened.)

The second event in the "Trust" or "Investments" stage occurred as follows. Initially, given my youth, I was to have been the program co-ordinator rather than the director, and I was to search out a director. After writing the proposal, I began entering discussion with Yale and New Haven officials about various aspects of the program, among them the question of who might direct it. The problem was that given my concept of the program there was a very limited population that understood, agreed with, and could possibly carry out a truly collaborative project. Moreover, as the search for a director lengthened and I made more and more decisions and contacts, it became clearer and clearer that the designated-director would be a front while I would actually run the program. Finally, a Yale administrator suggested that the way to avoid this possibly distasteful bind was for me to be the director after all. Yale and OEO both agreed.

At the time this decision seemed to represent an investment by the environment in the spiritual essence of the program. A possible negative aspect of the decision is that my relatively low social status at Yale may have contributed to the relatively low visibility of the program, e.g. the difficulty of attracting senior Yale faculty to teach in it.

Neither of the above incidents exemplifying the "Investments" stage was recounted in the original story. I believe I omitted them for two reasons. First, I tended to be naively uninterested in the "political machinations" according to which institutions decide to invest in projects. Second, it seemed immodest to present the "vote of confidence" in my leadership by Yale and OEO. Now the theory challenges me to reassess these subjective judgments.

The use of the early spring meetings to test prospective staff members' commitment to the program (Chapter 3, p.23), as well as the later shared work of admitting students, represent the "Autonomy" or "Determinations" "Membership" stage of organizing, a stage which was formalized by our appearance together on the afternoon of our departure for camp at the beginning of the first summer session.

Beginning the first summer session by taking all the students to camp for a week can serve as an example of the different roles the same event can play depending upon the life-cycle concerned. Without yet reviewing the stages of the spring staff meetings, we can see that for the staff the summer session as a whole was, in a straightforward way, the work period ("Predefined Productivity") following the spring preparation. However, within the summer, the first week was planned as a time to create a structure for the rest of the summer, and we adjusted this structure in various ways during the next week ("Experiment~~al~~s") ~~Structurings");~~ And then at the end of the summer and just after it (Ch.7,pp.13-20, Ch.8, pp.1-9) a number of conversations and events began to crystallize for the staff, especially the core staff, ~~the~~ into an "Structural ~~Particularization" of our effort as a community:~~ "Openly Chosen Structure."

From the students' point of view, as well as from the perspective of the summer session as an identifiably distinct organizing effort, the first week at camp was a new organizational "incarnation," with initial conversations~~, to develop mutuality,~~ marked by tentative investments and crises in early relationship-building. A brief summary can remind the reader of these:

1.	the chases of the first two nights	Ch. 5, pp. 5-8
2.	the myth of Luther and Melinda	Ch. 5, pp. 14-19
3.	starting conversations in classes	Ch. 5, pp. 24-27
4.	starting tutoring relationships	Ch. 5, p. 27ff.
5.	development of volleyball teams	Ch. 5, p.
6.	the fight and reconciliation	Ch. 6, pp. 8-15

Thus, from the perspective of the program as a whole over the two year period, the beginning of the first summer session stands out as the first occasion upon which all the participants of the organization were brought together physically for common work, that is as the "Determinations" ~~"membership"~~ stage. From the perspective of the staff it represented the "Experiment~~al~~s" ~~Structurings"~~ stage. From the perspective of the students it represented the ~~"Initial Conversations" and~~ "Investments" stage~~s~~.

Another complex case of applying the theory to events is afforded if we look at the academic year following the first summer. Here we find different events, representing different historical stages, occurring at the same time for different role-incumbents. The core staff, as already mentioned, became engaged in various activities representing the "Openly Chosen Structure" ~~"Structural Particularization"~~ stage (Chapter 8) and followed these by a fundamental research process investigating the relationships among their worldviews, interpersonal styles, and work (Chapter 9). This process and their attempt to extend it to new staff members (Chapter 10) marked the "Foundational Community" and "Liberating Disciplines" stages of development for the core staff.

Meanwhile, the students had returned to their regular schools, presumably to make new kinds of efforts there (~~"Initiative" or~~ "Experiment~~al~~s" Structurings" which would eventually yield more successful results ~~("Industry" or~~ ("Predefined Productivity"). Our experience and school records suggest that they did indeed act in these ways. Then, in the late winter and spring, some of the students worked out with the core staff a particular structure for their second summer at Upward Bound, to which they committed themselves over time ("Openly Chosen Structure" ~~"Structural Particularization"~~).

At the same time, a third group within the organization, the new staff, was starting from scratch during the selection process. Without yet attempting to portray the development of that sub-group in detail, we can point to some of the numerous incidents through the spring staff meetings that suggested "Trust" (or "Investments") and "Autonomy" or ~~"Membership"~~ "Determinations" as recurring issues for the new staff:

Incidents Concerning Trust/ Investments

1.	disconfirmation of applicants' solutions to problem, first selection meeting	Ch. 10	pp. 1,3-8
2.	black-white dominance-submission issue, first spring tutors meeting	Ch. 11	pp. 1-2
3.	Gene Renfroe as supposed core staff stooge	Ch. 11	p. 10
4.	accusation of core staff lie re racial composition of staff, fifth staff meeting	Ch. 11	p. 13

Incidents Concerning Autonomy/ ~~Membership~~ Determinations

1.	meetings of applicants without core staff, final selection meeting	Ch. 10	p. 18
2.	resistance of tutors to Tim's leadership, second tutors meeting	Ch. 11	pp. 3-8
3.	tutors antagonism to research, e.g. not using graph, fourth meeting	Ch. 11	pp. 11-12
4.	decision to hire more blacks, sixth meeting	Ch. 11	p. 15

So, the three sub-groups participating in Yale Upward Bound over that academic year experienced different stages of organizational development while involved in often-disparate activities. The core staff negotiated the

"Openly Chosen Structure," "Foundational Community," and "Liberating Disciplines" ~~"Identity," "Intimacy," and "Generativity"~~ stages in succession. The students tended to encounter the "Experiments," "Predefined Productivity," and "Openly Chosen Structure" ~~"Initiative," "Industry", and "Identity"~~ stages in succession. The new staff dealt recurrently with trust ~~"trust"~~ and autonomy ~~"autonomy"~~ issues in the "Investments" and "Determinations" stages.

If we step back and ask what stages the organization as a whole exemplified during this period, we would probably conclude "Predefined Productivity" and "Structural Particularization" Chosen Structure" with a heavy emphasis on the latter. This is so because all the work we did (whether "we" be core staff or students) had a quality of uniqueness about it that marked it off from our past performances (especially in the case of students) and from other related programs (see Chapter 8). Consequently, the "Predefined Productivity" aspects of the organization tended to be subsidiary to the "Structural Particularization" Openly Chosen Structure" aspects (as would always be the case of earlier aspects of a person's or organization's life, but as was particularly strong in our case because of the need for a [illegible] ~~special~~ "Identity" before "Industry" became a plausible "regression" for our students--see pp.). Moreover, the very development of the core staff as a distinct leadership group during the fall after the first summer session implied a structure particular to our program. From the larger perspective, the selection process of the second spring becomes another element of our unique organizational structure and thus also an aspect of "Structural Particularization" stage "Openly Chosen Structure" organization.*

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*Whenever I speak of an element of our program as unique, I do not mean to claim absolute uniqueness, but rather relative uniqueness--relative to our own previous experience and relative to customary organizational forms.

In this context, the second summer as a whole can be seen as an effort to live out our fragile organizational identity--fragile because so many of the new staff and so many of the students had not internalized it and because the extra-organizational environment offered so little support for the quality of this effort--and as an even wobblier effort to transcend to the stage of "Foundational Community."

The program, as a whole then, developed roughly as follows:

1.	INITIAL CONVERSATIONS FANTASIES	mainly between me and Greg, me and Andrew Wilson, culminating in authorization of program by Yale/OEO, winter 1966-67.
2.	INVESTMENTS	my development of financial working support from "superiors" and "subordinates," early spring 1967.
3.	DETERMINATIONS MEMBERSHIP	all personnel brought together at the camp, June 1967.
4.	EXPERIMENTS~~AL STRUCTURES~~	the various organizational structures developed and redeveloped during the early weeks of the first summer session, June-July 1967.
5.	PRE-DEFINED PRODUCTIVITY	the results of our work together, manifested in (1) the Camp Camp and (2) the changed nature of group conversations at the end of the first summer and in (3) changed student school patterns during the academic year, partly as a result of (4) continuing core staff support, August-December 1967.
6.	OPENLY CHOSEN STRUCTURE ~~STRUCTURAL PARTICULARIZATION~~	the definition of a core staff, sense of uniqueness among Upward Bound programs, development of structure for second summer with students, August 1967 - May 1968.
7.	FOUNDATIONAL COMMUNITY	incomplete efforts toward fundamental collaborative research during the second summer session, summer 1968.

"Openly Chosen Structu"

The program foundered at the inter-level break between "Structural Particularization" and "Foundational Community."

In this analysis, the events of the overall program seem to be organized in the sequence proposed by the theory. The partial exception is the overlapping of the "Predefined Productivity" and "Openly Chosen Structure" ~~"Structural Particu-~~larization" stages. In fact, it may appear forced to regard the "Predefined Productivity" stage as ending in December before the "Openly Chosen Structure" ~~"Structural Particu-~~larization" stage ends in May, since the changed school patterns of the students and the core staff support extended through the entire school year. Nevertheless, I defend the difference in ending dates on the basis that the overwhelming amount of core staff support at students' schools occurred during the fall and on the basis of a parallel sense that once the students experienced themselves operating somewhat differently in school over a sustained period (the fall) the issue of "successful environmental manifestation" became transformed into the "Identity" stage issue we experienced in structuring the school for the second summer during the spring--namely, "How can I gain the academic skills which I in particular lack?" (Ch.8, pp. 12-14). And this particular "Identity" question reminds us of the complex interweaving of the "Industry" and "Identity" issues for our students. When we examine the end of the first summer session, we shall see a repeated oscillation between these two stages.

THE CORE STAFF STAGES

Although its members had participated in the program from the outset, the core staff became a distinct subgroup only during the fall after the first summer session, this differentiation itself being one manifestation that the program as a whole was entering the "Openly ChoseN Structure" ~~"Structural Particularization"~~ phase.

The reader will recall that, after differentiating their roles, various core staff members undertook various initiatives ("Experiment~~al Structures"~~s"), some of which succeeded and some of which failed, in doing their work (Chapter 9, p.). Much of their work has, in turn, been categorized as part of the "Predefined Productivity" stage of the overall program life-cycle (p.). Thus, traces of both the "Experimental Structures" and "Predefined Productivity" stages are clearly discernible in the core staff's early fall work. However, I regard these traces as subordinate to (i.e. as parts of a subcycle within) the core staff's "~~Structural Particularization"~~ Openly Chosen Structure" for two reasons: (1) they occurred within the framework of differentiated roles; (2) they occurred as part of an articulated and shared philosophy of continual experimentation (an aspect of our sense of identity). Closer examination would uncover all the earlier subcycle stages of development within this (and indeed each) stage. For example, it seems (Ch.9, pp. 8-12) that Valery did not during the fall develop a clear sense of autonomy ("~~Membership~~" "Determinations") within the core staff, so it is not surprising that none of its initiatives ("Experiment~~al Structures~~s") is attributable to her. Another obvious example would be the "~~Initial Conversations"~~ FANTASI and "Investments" involved ~~when~~ in Tim, Grace and Ray's decisions to join~~ed~~ the core staff, all of them volunteering some of their time.

With this introduction, the core staff's development can be categorized as follows:

CORE STAFF ~~STRUCTURAL PARTICULARIZATION PHASE~~ OPENLY CHOSEN STRUCTURE, predominantly fall 1967

1.	determination of differentiated roles	Ch.8, p.
2.	self-defined roles by Ray, Tim, David, Sally	Ch.8, pp.9-10
3.	confrontation about basic aims at national VB meeting	Ch.8, pp. 17-19
4.	effect of changing Valery's and Patricia's jobs	Ch.9, pp. 11,16

5.	defined qualities of new director for whom we searched		Ch.11, p.8

CORE STAFF FOUNDATIONAL COMMUNITY PHASE, predominantly winter 1967-68

1.	research		
	a.	relating task-accomplishment to research	Ch.9, pp.1-3
	b.	re-searching for a shared aim	Ch.8, pp.4-5
	c.	re-cognizing his-story (Tim)	Ch.9, pp.5-7
	d.	challenging personal structures distorting practice of aims (Valery) (Patricia)	Ch.9, pp.8-12, 12-16
2.	my resistance to personal research		Ch.9, pp.17-18
3.	form of the selection process		Ch.10, p. 1-2

CORE STAFF LIBERATING DISCIPLINES PHASE, spring 1968

1.	actual process of selecting new staff	Ch. 10
2.	helping students develop structure of second summer session	Ch. 8, pp. 12-14
3.	attempted training of new staff during spring meetings	Ch. 11

The core staff "Foundational Community" phase deserves fuller discussion at this point, since it represents the closest approach within the program to collaborative research. First, I should restate that the idea of research here refers not to narrowly conceived, formally-conducted, empirical research, but rather to ongoing re-search in the midst of everyday life in Marcel's sense (   ) in which neither the problem nor the investigator are taken for granted. I refer to research at once personal, collaborative, and ontological, to research at once empirical, theoretical, and intuitive, to research at once behavioral, emotional and spiritual.

As ought to be obvious from my own resistance in practice to this kind of research at the time, to be able to articulate the broad vision of such research is by no means synonymous with the ability to practice it from moment to moment. Indeed, the degree to which I based the core staff research on relatively formal empirical procedures may have reflected my own spiritual dis-ease (which is *not* to say that formal empirical procedures are *necessarily* a symptom of spiritual dis-ease). Certainly, the core staff research is no more than a faint and somewhat dry taste of the quality of conversation possible when persons mutually and lovingly question and re-found one another's worldviews, inter-personal styles, and task effectiveness.

Nevertheless, the various incidents reported in Chapters 9 and 10 point toward essential ingredients of "Foundational Community." These include:

(1) a deepened realization that the organization drifts from accomplishing its purpose unless constant work (research) is done to remain aware of the intuitions which enliven purpose, to develop shared articulations of those intuitions, and to determine what kinds of concrete goals and work behaviors realize that purpose at a particular time;

(2) therefore, a deepened commitment to such re-search as a useful part of regular organizational life (such usefulness may be more immediately obvious in the case of organizations with obviously abstract objectives such as schools, churches, and governments but it is in reality equally true of businesses, hospitals, and armies);

(3) a gradually enhanced awareness of personal intentionality and organizational purposiveness leading to a re-evaluation and increased appreciation of the paths followed by personal and organizational histories, and of one's present stage on that path;

(4) a repeated, loving confrontation and increasing transcendence of particular personal and organizational structurings of self and world in favor of multiple structurings ordered in the cosmic reality which we ordinarily apprehend as time;

(5) the development of particular personal roles and organizational structures to heighten consciousness of the transmutation or transmission occurring on ritual occasions ~~(i.e. liberating disciplines)~~ (such as initiation of new members).

One aspect of the evidence advanced for the ordering of the core staff phases may have particularly puzzled the reader. This was the ascription of the selection process to two stages, its form to "Foundational Community," its enactment to "Liberating Disciplines ". In this case there are temporal and organizational differences between form and enactment that might justify such a distinction. That is, the form was determined by the core staff before it was enacted with the new job applicants. Thus, one might argue by analogy that the (conceived) form corresponds to the conception of a child deriving from its parents intimacy, whereas the enactment (real-ization) corresponds to the child's birth (real-ization), i.e. to the mother's generativity. The analogy is especially elegant in this case because the enactment in question is the selection of new members, their birth into the organization.

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG DIFFERENT TIMES

As we turn to the analysis of the two spring staff preparation periods and the two summer sessions, however, the reader will find a number of occasions when I have analyzed a given event occurring at one time as belonging to two or even three distinct stages, distinguishing its from (encompassing time), from its process (enacted through time), from its content (appearing at one point in time). For example, I analyze two events during the first week of the first summer session—the "International Volleyball Championships" and the development of a structure for the rest of the summer (Chapter 5, pp.1-4, 4-7, 15) — as belonging to three stages. In both cases, I maintain that the time-encompassing form reflected the "Trust" or "Investments" stage, that the process of enactment represented the "Autonomy" or "Determinations" "~~Membership~~" stage, and that the various particular contents tended to fall into the "Initiative" or "Experiment~~al~~s" ~~Structures"~~ stage. The overall effect of both events-through-time was to develop and encourage investments in mutual relationships between staff and students and thus create trust. In both cases this occurred by "Autonomy" or "Determinations" "Membership" stage processes of building group solidarity—a sense of belonging to teams in one case, to core classes in another—and of differentiating between the program as a whole and previous educational experiences--"here students and staff play and govern together." At the same time, both events required repeated individual initiatives—forming and captaining new teams, creating and presenting new proposals; in short, the development of experimental structures.

Does not this practice of dividing one event into several aspects and assigning them to different temporal stages destroy the fundamental claim of the theory to show that various stages temporally precede and succeed one another? I don't think so. Instead, I believe it gives us insight into the structure of time itself and into the nature of qualitative change in time—into the nature of potential and its actualization.

The content of a particular momentary event can be considered a point (0 dimension) in time. To speak of the process of an event implies duration, so the process can be considered a line through time (1 dimension). The form of an event implies shape in time, as though portrayable on a canvas (2 dimensions). Thus, we have a potentially three dimensional perspective on time.*

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*I say "potentially" because probably we are not presently aware of all three temporal dimensions simultaneously. Indeed, the whole idea threatens to become endlessly confusing and embarrassing when we try to apply it to ourselves. First, we would have to admit that we are generally so absorbed by what we are attending to (whether outward events such as this reading... or inner imaginings) that we are altogether oblivious of time (0 dimension). Next, we might notice that most often our awareness of time is of an external pressure or of emptiness. We must finish such-and-such by this o'clock, or we must arrive at so-and-so's by that o'clock. We become tense and hurry, glancing at the clock from time to time. Or else we have nothing to do and wish this o'clock would arrive, when we expect something more promising to occur. We become bored and sleepy, glancing at the clock from time to time, wishing it would hurry. External pressure or lack of directedness do seem to remind us of the duration of time, but in a curious and perverse way. It is as though time were outside us, judging us. It is us against time. Our awareness of time in this case comes when we interrupt the process of whatever we are doing to glance at the clock or to wish we were not in this situation. So this kind of awareness is not awareness of the process of enactment of an event. It is its obverse, a negative sense of duration, which we might dub the-1 Dimension. Ironically, what can keep us from process awareness is our effort to manipulate the world or our own imaginings to meet our needs. We are too busy formulating and re-forming and being formed by the world to notice the mutuality of the actual exchange. Therefore, we remain two steps away from seeing temporal forms. Our own form-ulating can estrange us from temporal forms. Indeed, it is a generally accepted objective among many professionally rigorous formulators known as social scientists so to formulate the social universe as to be able to ignore time altogether. This quality of formulation again seems the exact obverse of that required to envision time-encompassing forms, so we might dub it the -2 Dimension.

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Given a three-dimensional perspective on time, I would still propose that at any one dimension the stages of a personal or organizational life-cycle would manifest the stages in the order listed by the theory. Moreover, the three temporal dimensions would also obey this sequence for the same event in the sense that they would refer to three sequential stages, with the form expressing the first of the three stages, the process expressing the second, and the content expressing the third. In general, both the story I have told about Upward Bound and the present theory of sequential stages focus on the process dimension or durational aspect of time.

The implication of the three-dimensional theory of time is that each succeeding stage in a life-cycle begins as a "point" in the previous stage, becomes a "line" in its own stage-time, and then becomes a "form" in relation to the succeeding stage. The experiential meaning of these qualitative changes of dimension may become clearer by comparison to an individual. Before birth the foetus has no dimensions on a physical or social map. It is a mere point of its mother's anatomy, so to speak. From birth til death the individual's life process could be rendered as a line on a physical or social map. After death historical figures may be shown on maps of an area to symbolize an era. Their characteristic posture in life becomes a way of formulating the period as a whole. Taking a step away from the physical map analogy, we can see that before birth and early in life persons have no social dimensions whereas later in life and after death persons quite often are remembered as a model (form, myth) to emulate (or not to emulate). To put this another way, three generations occupy each temporal stage, the older rightly in-forming, the middle rightly acting for the common good, the younger rightly preparing.

I believe the reference to different dimensions of time is more than a geometric visualization of a commonplace: that both the past and future influence the present. By introducing the idea of three distinct, interrelated qualities of time at each moment, it: (1) gives us a conceptual lever for avoiding temporal reductionism (e.g. childhood determinism) and temporal escapism (e.g. naive worship of a limited sense of the Now as everything); (2) creates the existential challenge of developing three-dimensional time awareness, from which we could derive more balanced and fruitful personal and social analysis; and (3) can, through practice, yield the moral discrimination to see the dilemmas blockages, and distortions visited upon us by forms, processes and contents that are incongruent with one another, as well as the moral power to choose mutually congruent forms, processes, and contents in our own thought and action.

It is another commonplace that past, present, and future today struggle terribly for possession of our souls. We hear many impassioned pleas that we not forget the lessons of history, other pleas that we overcome our alienation from present emotional-sensual reality, and still other pleas that we respond to the imperatives of our collective future. We feel urges to emulate our heroes, to satisfy external day-to-day demands on us, to create a better world for our children. These pleas and urges are often formulated/interpreted in terms that make them mutually hostile, or at least mutually exclusive. Which way shall I turn, our one-dimensional attention queries, never suspecting itself to be the root of the problem that seems to flower so vividly in the world-out-there, so far beyond our grasp and control, but so demanding of our response.** Some may immediately feel offended by the quietistic implication they draw from this argument that one ignore the world's problems and turn inward instead.

If so, they may ignore the real implication of the argument: that we truly stretch ourselves, and the world about us, gradually ceasing to propagate and encourage either/or person-worlds, by pursuing a both/and method-goal.

The analogy made above between the three temporal dimensions in each stage and a person's youth, maturity, and old age, suggests another implication: that if we looked at each stage of a life-cycle "through a microscope" or, indeed, at any discriminable event-over-time, such as a conversation, we would find there an entire life-cycle in miniature. My informal observation supports this implication. For example, it is quite amusing/frustrating to begin to see how rarely conversation topics in everyday life survive the first interlevel break. Also, the way in which whole subcycles of the Upward Bound program can be subordinated within one or two stages of the overall two-year life-cycle ~~evidences~~ illustrates this idea.

I have already alluded to subcycle stages within the core staff "~~Structural-Particularization~~ Openly Chosen Structure" stage (p.389). Another example is the first spring's meetings to prepare the staff, to which we will now turn. All the meetings are subsumed under the "Investments" stage of the overall program, but they move from "~~Initial Conversations~~ Fantasies" through "Predefined Productivity" when looked at more minutely.

THE PREPARATORY STAFF MEETINGS OF THE FIRST SPRING

For the most part ~~the~~ fantasies and initial conversations occurred before the beginning of the meetings, though of course the early meetings formally represent initial conversations. The other events of the spring meetings seem to me to be organized in the following way:

INVESTMENTS STAGE, FIRST STAFF PREPARATION

1. Struggle to define a new leader-member relationship, first meeting. Ch.3, p.1, 6-7
2. Jennie's and Sam's calls about how not to conduct meetings Ch.3, p.5
3. The process of the first group decision, second meeting Ch. 3, p.6
4. Potential members attending meetings to test the organizational climate. Ch.3, p. 23

MEMBERSHIP STAGE, FIRST STAFF PREPARATION

1.	content of decision to become co-ed	Ch.3, p.6
2.	new members joining staff after coming to meetings	Ch.3, p. 23
3.	conflictful, oscillating process seen as characteristic	Ch.3, pp. 19-20
4.	felt contrast between public schools and our program	Ch.3, p. 23

EXPERIMENTAL STRUCTURES STAGE, FIRST STAFF PREPARATION

1.	student admissions--devising of forms and reports of trials and errors in interviewing potential students	Ch.3, p. 23
2.	early play with various curricular possibilities	Ch. 3, p. 24

PREDEFINED PRODUCTIVITY STAGE, FIRST STAFF PREPARATION

1.	executing student admission process	Ch.3, p. 24
2.	organizing a general curriculum by weekly topics	Ch.3, p. 24
3.	original outline of daily schedule	Ch.3, p. 24

No events occurred in the first staff preparation period to give the staff a clear, positive sense of social identity as a program. The program was clearly different, but for most its openness to members' influence probably felt more empty and anxiety-provoking than formulable as a sense of identity. For the staff the sense of program identity hovered between the implicit and the explicit as the staff meetings ended and throughout the summer's experience, becoming more fully formulable only afterwards.

THE LIFE-CYCLE OF THE FIRST SUMMER SESSION

We can now turn to the life-cycle of the first summer session. The trip to the new world of the camp from New Haven via bus and the ensuing rain shower requiring everybody to dry themselves off as a first communal act is full of coincidental birth symbolism, reminding us that "[illegible]" "Initial-Conversations" have non-verbal aspects too. Some of the principle "Trust" or "Investments" stage events have already been enumerated (p. 383) and the multi-stage roles of the volleyball games and the general meetings to develop structure for the school have been discussed. The rest of the summer's events (i.e. those reported in Chapters 4-7) are arranged chronologically and categorized as to stage in the following summary:

EVENTS AND STAGES, FIRST SUMMER SESSION

1.	resolution of the fight, pp. 13-15	p TRUST* c AUTONOMY
2.	pitching in to make emergency dinner after fight Ch. 6, p.14	TRUST
3.	reconfirmation of decision to go to Newport pp. 15-16	TRUST
4.	united by threat of bus driver, pp.16-18	AUTONOMY
5.	sense of unity at Newport, p.18	AUTONOMY
6.	Greg-Susan conversation, pp. 18-20	TRUST
7.	Person as bounded environment with related issues of gates, visitors, and hours during second week, Ch. 7, pp. 1-4	b AUTONOMY p INITIATIVE
8.	black power discussion with Weiss, pp.7-11	INITIATIVE
9.	first Discipline Committee decisions, pp.11-14	INITIATIVE
10.	tutor explorations on relating to students, pp. 11-14	INITIATIVE

*For these longer lists of events I will use the more concise Erikson names for the stages.

11.	new kinds of relationships for Henrietta, Hank pp. 15-18	β TRUST p AUTONOMY c INITIATIVE
12.	interracial couple, Ch. 8, p.1	INITIATIVE
13.	Discipline Committee as educational vehicle for own members, p. 7	INDUSTRY
14.	creating new structural arrangements—writing workshops et. al.	INITIATIVE
15.	report on changed student attitudes and successful relationships, p. 22	INDUSTRY
16.	the various events surrounding the article about Upward Bound, pp. 1-11	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
17.	bad planning of 4th week core class, p.7	INDUSTRY
18.	physical exams during 4th week, p.7	INITIATIVE
19.	staff defeatedness at failure of restructuring, Ch. 7, pp. 26-27	INDUSTRY
20.	regular production of "The Ghetto", p. 11	INDUSTRY
21.	return to tutorials with increased effectiveness, p. 14	INDUSTRY
22.	conversation with Holt, p. 13	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
23.	advisory board meeting, pp. 12-13	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
24.	Discipline Committee self-review	p IDENTITY c INTIMACY
25.	staff decision not to suspend glue sniffers, pp. 15-16	IDENTITY
26.	staff decision not to restrict last week to academically-inclined students, pp. 16-17	IDENTITY
27.	conversation with local black power leader Ch. 7, p.11	IDENTITY
28.	explicit definition and confrontation between staff factions, pp. 17-18	IDENTITY

29.	art work and outdoor gallery, pp. 11,18	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
30.	Comp Comp writing, e.g. Melinda, Henry Aston, p. 18	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
31.	final ceremony, pp. 19-20	IDENTITY
32.	final staff meeting, p. 20	c IDENTITY

We see that the stages once again unfold in a generally sequential manner, with particular oscillation and interweaving of the "Industry" and "Identity" stages toward the end of the summer.** The reader may wonder on what basis I decided to assign some events but not others to more than one temporal dimension--a decision which certainly influences how the sequence of stages, down the right side of the list, scans. My decision-making process may have been quite subjective. I assigned an event to more than one temporal dimension when its meaning in the additional dimension(s) was immediately evident to me but did not seem merely trivial. Most often this occurred in cases where the content dimension of an event seemed to point with special force and clarity toward the next organizational issue, or, in other words, to join language to experience in such a way as to render more of the implicit explicit. It should eventually be possible to develop a theory which distinguishes process-content relationships conducive to further organizational development from process-content relationships conducive to organizational stasis and regression.

Frankly, I am not discussing at great length my reasons for assigning each example to a particular stage because I do not wish to bore you or myself. Instead, I am choosing to discuss only those instances that appear anomalous. At the beginning of the next chapter I will summarize the characteristics of each organizational stage, as these are suggested by a review of my way of categorizing the individual events. Thus, the categorization serves two purposes--to test the theory as already articulated in the previous chapter and to elaborate further the organizational characteristics of each stage.

With that aside, one issue concerning the list of events of the first summer session seems to me worthy of comment. During the summer a number of the discussions, which occurred with speakers from outside the program, appear exceedingly similar in formal terms, and in process, and even in topical theme, yet I have assigned them to different stages. Let us take the discussions with Weiss (#8-Initiative), Holt (#22-Industry), and the black community leader (#27-Identity). All three were lively discussions with a heavy emphasis on racial issues. In what way do they represent different stages? I assign the Weiss discussion to the "Initiative" stage because it was the first such discussion of the summer and, from all appearances, the first time ever that most of our students had experienced in public discussion the deep interplay of the personal and the political. I assign the Holt discussion to the "Industry" stage because by this time such discussions had become common among us as a way of inspiring intellectual work. I assign the discussion with the black community leader to the "Identity" stage because on this occasion students were able to differentiate their stances from one another and the visitor without feeling mutually alienated as a result.

EVIDENCES OF LESS OPTIMAL FUNCTIONING

As we turn to the three multi-stage events of the second spring and summer--the selection process, the staff preparation meetings, and the second summer session--we can expect new twists when we attempt to categorize events. We would expect that the less optimal functioning of the program would find some reflection in our analysis, if the theory carries any practical significance at all.

I will begin with a table of events of the selection process and stages to which I've assigned those events:

EVENTS AND STAGES, SELECTION PROCESS

1.	application forms, Ch. 10, p.1	BIRTH
2.	first general meeting, solutions to group problem disconfirmed, pp. 3-8	f BIRTH p TRUST c AUTONOMY
3.	interviews, pp. 1-2,8-9	p TRUST c AUTONOMY
4.	four group meetings according to core staff evaluation of applicants, pp. 9-15	f AUTONOMY p INITIATIVE c INDUSTRY
5.	total group decision-making process at beginning of final meeting, pp. 16-17	f INITIATIVE p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
6.	core staff selection decisions during and after final meeting, pp. 19-22	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY

7. meeting of two small groups of applicants without core staff, evening of final meeting, p. AUTONOMY

For me, several aspects of this table stand out. First, it feels very easy to categorize all three temporal dimensions of each planned meeting, as though there were greater congruence among them on these occasions than is ordinarily the case. I am in no position to argue this point strongly, however, since I conceptualized both the meetings and the theory. Second, the categories point out a "hole" in the planned selection process. It overleaped the "Autonomy" or "Membership" stage, even though it may have provided a good context for it (i.e. strong "Autonomy" cues in previous content and subsequent form). We evidently expected the applicants to develop a sense of ~~autonomy~~ membership within the program through their private reflections between the interviews and the group meetings, and to concretize this sense through their initiatives at the group meetings. And indeed this sequence could occur, as witnessed by Ben's and Greg's behavior during my meeting with the "weak" candidates. But, obviously, these meetings were the point of maximum strain on the whole process, the point at which it began to break down, and these categories suggest why.

This analysis is reinforced by the third aspect of the table that stands out. In the exclusive small group meetings of the applicants the final evening, indicating their incomplete sense of "autonomy" from the core staff, we see the clearest example of retrogression to a previous stage encountered thus far in the program. Had I been attuned at the time to the breakdown in organic development that this event portended, we might have been able to plan the early staff meetings after selection to deal directly with this issue.

A fourth aspect of the table that stands out for me is the implicit inconsistency between the two events whose content pointed toward the "Identity" stage for the new staff. The first implies content-collaboration and the second structural-collaboration, to recall the distinctions introduced in Chapter 15 (pp. '). This inconsistency reflects the lack of clarity at that time within the core staff about the different qualities of collaboration. Of course, at the time I escaped the inconsistency by acknowledging it, but regarding the core staff selection decisions as having been "forced on us," contrary to our will. As would have been more evident to someone less anchored in the ideal than I, my "escape" in no way altered the reality that the inconsistency had occurred and that that inconsistency was likely to influence our common future. If I had taken this inconsistency seriously, we might have been able to formulate our new modes of collaboration more clearly at the time and thereby appeared less two-faced to the new tutors.

We turn next to the second spring's staff preparation meetings. Forthwith, the table of events, by meeting, along with my categorizations of the events:

EVENTS AND STAGES, SECOND SPRING STAFF PREPARATION MEETINGS

First Meeting

1. slow start because of King assassination rally, Ch. 12, p.1 — BIRTH

2.	Cylia: should whites be on staff? pp. 1-2	p TRUST
3.	black-white dominance-submission	
4.	somber mood, talk of guerilla warfare	c AUTONOMY

Second Meeting

5.	tutors' questioning about program, their own role, stressful relationship to Tim, pp. 3-8	p TRUST c AUTONOMY
6.	introduction of role playing and Zack's experimenting, p.4	p INITIATIVE c INDUSTRY
7.	question about program's criteria of success, p.4	p TRUST c INDUSTRY
8.	Tim's history of our work with students, p.5	p TRUST c IDENTITY
9.	Mal's attack on role playing as ungenuine, p.8	p TRUST c IDENTITY

Third Meeting

10.	core staff tries to respond, p.8	TRUST
11.	tutor ambivalence about subgrouping, p.8	AUTONOMY
12.	decision to subgroup, p.8	INITIATIVE
13.	work of subgroups, differentiation between r.t.s. and t.a.s., p.9	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
14.	presentation of research, p.9	p IDENTITY c INTIMACY
15.	resistance to research on basis that it blocks real work, p.9	p AUTONOMY c INDUSTRY
16.	Gene Renfroe suspected as stooge, p.10	TRUST

Fourth Meeting

17.	antagonism to research results, pp. 11-12	p AUTONOMY c IDENTITY
18.	decision to make researchers observers, p. 12	p INITIATIVE c INDUSTRY
19.	tutors influence agenda, p.12	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY

Fifth Meeting

20.	core staff accused of lying, p. 12	TRUST
21.	white family meeting, p.14	p TRUST c IDENTITY

Sixth Meeting

22.	decision to hire more blacks	p TRUST c IDENTITY
23.	curricular area meetings, p.15	INDUSTRY

Seventh Meeting

24.	Mal as chairman--reports from curricular groups, pp. 15-16	p TRUST c INDUSTRY
25.	Rob's anger--structural proposals, p.16	p INITIATIVE c INDUSTRY
26.	resistance to proposals	AUTONOMY

Eighth Meeting

27.	acceptance of proposals	INDUSTRY

Ninth Meeting

28.	informal conversation	TRUST

Weekend

29.	Rob-Nat argument on teaching social studies	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
30.	divergent interpretations of history of program	p IDENTITY c INTIMACY
31.	meeting on role of research	p IDENTITY c INTIMACY

Meetings Just Before Summer Session

32.	decision to separate black and white men with review after first week, Ch. 14, pp.2-3	p INTIMACY c GENERATIVITY

We find that the regression of the final selection meeting presaged a chronic regression at the outset of each of the first seven meetings of the preparation period. We are also introduced to a new pattern at these meetings--repeated cases of events where the content concern is more than one stage ahead of the process concern. This pattern seems to be another index of organizational pathology. The events which fit this pattern seem to have in common a discrepancy between intentions and effects, or between interpretations by different parties of a given effort or result. People seem to feel more frustrated, more resentful, more unheard, more unjustly treated, or more cynical about others' motives on such occasions.

The final part of the program that can be viewed as a distinct life-cycle is the second summer session.

EVENTS AND STAGES, SECOND SUMMER SESSION

1.	ransacking of dormitory and return of furniture, Ch. 14, p.4	TRUST
2.	first routine days of classes, p.1	TRUST
3.	regular sub-group meetings of staff, p.1	TRUST
4.	first disciplinary committee meeting, pp. 4-6	AUTONOMY
5.	first community meeting, pp.5-8	AUTONOMY
6.	full staff decision to keep discipline committee all staff, pp.8-9	p INITIATIVE c IDENTITY
7.	Sunday night tutor group meetings, p.9	p INITIATIVE c IDENTITY
8.	Midnight false alarm demonstration, p.10	f AUTONOMY p INITIATIVE c IDENTITY
9.	Student Planning Committee creation and first meeting, pp. 10-11	INITIATIVE
10.	continuing class meetings, early weeks	INDUSTRY
11.	Milly and Melinda incidents, pp. 11-12	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
12.	further SPC meetings and proposals to staff, p.12	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
13.	factional conflicts within staff, p.13	IDENTITY
14.	daylong "honest hate" staff meeting, p.13	IDENTITY
15.	early incidents causing friction between UB and environment, p.14	INTIMACY
16.	impending dismissal of UB from campus, p.13	INTIMACY
17.	money collection to repair door	f IDENTITY
18.	S.U.B. Club] p.15	p INTIMACY
19.	black family meeting	c GENERATIVITY
20.	college-UB meetings, gloomy atmosphere, "salvation" by Jake, pp.16-19	INTIMACY

21.	personal crises of students, pp.19-20	p INDUSTRY c IDENTITY
22.	invasions by "visitors", p.20	INTIMACY
23.	fragmentation of organizational activities, p.20	IDENTITY
24.	college staff-UB student meetings, p.20	INTIMACY
25.	decision to end residential program early, p.21	INTIMACY
26.	catastrophic sixth week, p.22ff.	IDENTITY
27.	productive non-residential week, p.21	GENERATIVITY
28.	large number of course make-up exams, relative to first summer, passed by students in the fall, p. 21	GENERATIVITY

I have already noted several ways in which lack of sequential ordering of the temporal stages alerts us to organizational pathology--the skipping of a stage, regression to an earlier stage, and a gap between the stages indicated by the process and content of the same event. The categorization of events of the second summer makes it clear that the mere absence of these signs of pathology and the mere presence of sequential ordering of stages does not guarantee organizational health. If we glance down the right hand column of stage names, we find a fairly sequential ordering of the stages, yet the program ended in disintegration. And indeed, it should be clear that to categorize an event as struggling with a certain stage issue is not to assert that it is successfully resolving that issue. Many of the events during the second summer session labeled "Identity" (#13,14, 23,26) and "Intimacy" (#15,16,22) refer to processes which disintegrated the program.

On the other hand, it may also be the case that struggling with the more advanced organizational issues gives an organization a fundamental coherence that it could never attain at earlier stages, even if it does not succeed in resolving them. I don't know how else to understand the "rising of the phoenix from the ashes" during the non-residential seventh week which turned out to be so productive. It may stand as an example of how the spirit of collaboration, if sufficiently striven for in practice, can assert itself just when, and perhaps even only when, the organization, as structurally conceived, dies to itself. For only then can the members together reconstruct reality. Even though we constructed the reality in the first place, further experience brought mroe of us, and new parts of each of us, into play--a new us, demanding, creating, being a new reality, requiring new structures.

By speaking of the need for an organization to die to itself in order to make the transition to the "spiritual" stages of intimacy and generativity, I do not mean to imply that such a death-in-life need be as violent as ours was. Part of the violence of our death resulted, I now believe, from my (and others') inability to conceive of such an end as potentially constructive, as potentially a new beginning. Therefore, I resisted the end to my utmost and thus prolonged and intensified the death agony. Compulsively constructive, I could not conceive in practice of yielding to the destructive in a certain way; I could not conceive in practice that death could be welcomed into life in such a way as to enhance consciousness. (I say "conceive in practice" because I was reflectively very much attuned to Christ's ironic injunctions about living by dying and dying by clinging to life.)

XVIII. HISTORICAL STAGES OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT III - USES IN OTHER SETTINGS

However convincing the foregoing theory and application of historical stages of organizational development may seem, it may not yet appear very useable to the reader in assessing the developmental status of the organizations he or she knows best. In this short chapter, I will try to aid such a translation to the reader's own life in two ways. First, I will present a table listing characteristics for each organizational stage, abstracted from the Upward Bound events and phrased in more general language. In this way a more coherent portrait of each stage should emerge, and the reader can test subjectively where the equilibrium of his or her organization seems to be. Second, I will present brief portraits of a few other organizations that I have heard about, observed, or worked with since Upward Bound. In some cases, I used the theory of historical stages merely to interpret events I was observing; in some cases, I used it as a guide to my own action; in some cases, I shared the theory with members of the organization and they (or we) used it together to guide action. It is only because I and others have found the theory useful in action that I have bothered to present it in the first place. I hope that applying it to other cases, even if only suggestively, will help the reader determine its relevance to his or her situation.

The table of stage-characteristics follows:

STAGES OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

I. FANTASIES

a. dreams, fantasies about future, initial visions
b. informal conversations with friends, work associates
c. diffuse collaboration--discussing or working with others on occasional, related projects to explore shared interests
d. episodic exploration of varied parts of the social environment to see how they relate to fantasies, where opportunities exist, what potential consequences of action would be

II. INVESTMENTS

a. organizers make definite commitment to enterprise
b. 'parent' institutions make financial, structural, spiritual commitments to nurture
c. early relationip-building among potential leaders, members, clients, advisors
d. leadership style negotiated
e. issues arise about the validity, reliability, and depth of the various personal and institutional commitments

III. DETERMINATIONS

a. specific goals, clients, staff, members determined (hiring, admissions)
b. recognizable physical territory delineated
c. first common tasks and time commitments
d. psychological contracts between various parties and organization defined implicitly or explicitly
e. persistence-unity exhibited in face of perceived privation or threat

IV. EXPERIMENTS

alternative legal, governing, administrative, physical, production, communication, planning, scheduling, celebratory, and/or interpersonal structures-processes practiced (modeled, role played), tested in operation, and reformed

V. PRE-DEFINED PRODUCTIVITY

a. focus on doing the pre-defined task
b. viability of product = single criterion of success
c. standards and structures taken for granted (often formalized, institutionalized)
d. effort to quantify results based on defined standards
e. reality conceived of as dichotomous and competitive: success-failure, leader-follower, legitimate-illegitimate-illegitimate, work-play, reasonable-emotional, etc.

VI. OPENLY CHOSEN STRUCTURE

a. shared continual reflection about larger (wider, deeper, more long-term, more abstract) purposes of the organization
b. development of open interpersonal process, with disclosure, support, and confrontation on value-stylistic-emotional issues
c. evaluation of effects of own behavior on others in organization and formative research on effects of organization on environment ("social accounting"); i.e., determining whether abstract purposes are being realized inpractice
d. direct facing and resolution of paradoxes: freedom v. control, expert v. participatory decision-making, etc.
e. creative, trans-conventional solutions to conflicts
f. organizational his-story becomes my-story*
g. deliberately chosen structure with commitment to it, over time, the structure unique in the experience of the participants or among 'similar' organizations
h. primary emphasis on horizontal rather than vertical role differentiation
i. development of symmetrical rather than subordinate relation with 'parent' organizations
j. gaining of distinctive public repute

(CRISIS OF TRANSITION TO SPIRITUAL GROUND)

VII. FOUNDATIONAL COMMUNITY

a. regular, personal, shared research on relations among spiritual, theoretical, and behavioral qualities of experience
b. transcendence of pre-existing cultural categories and appreciation of the continuous interplay of opposites: action-research, sex-politics, past-future, symbolic-diabolic, etc.
c. structure 'goes under', phoenix rises from ashes, shared purpose (spirit) revealed as sustaining
d. new experiences of time: time as organic; interplay of timely, timeless, and time-bound; spirit as illuminating and mean-ing the past and future; history as myth (where myth means ultimate truth)

VIII. LIBERATING STRUCTURES (from pp.230-)

a. lowering of membership boundary between organization and environment; inclusive rather than exclusive given commitment by aspirants to self-transformation
b. tasks deliveratley ironic to ellucidate hidden relationships, incomprehensible (unpleasant, undoable) without reference to their expression of and inspiration from organizational processes and purposes

* I am indebted to Judy Putzel for this formulation.

c. commitment by 'leaders' to pre-meditated structural evolution over time
d. use of all authority granted 'leaders' to exercise psycho-social jiu-jitsu, leading to increased sense of loving empowerment among other members
e. openness (vulnerability) of 'leaders' to challenge regarding their authenticity

IX. (uncharted, to my knowledge)

Most organizations that we see about us operate at the stage of "Pre-Defined Productivity". If an organization does not achieve this stage, it rarely lasts long. At the same time, I have already mentioned (pp. 364ff) the various social pressures which make it rare for an organization to develop beyond "Pre-Defined Productivity." This theory of historical stages of organizational development creates an impetus for organizations to negotiate the earlier stages more carefully and to accept the challenge to evolve toward the later stages. It does so first by simply bringing the qualitatively different concerns of each stage into focus and clarifying their developmental logic, and second by suggesting the negative consequences of skipping or incompletely resolving any stage.

The dynamics by which organizations enter, resolve, and transcend a given stage remain largely implicit and impressionistic in this study, as do the standards by which we might determine whether an organization is growing (in this qualitative sense) at the "right pace" and is resolving each stage "successfully"rather than "pathologically." But the very notion and definition of stages of organizational development alerts us to these questions about appropriate dynamics and appropriate standards of success. To assume we already know how to change organizations and when we are doing so successfully is merely to fall back into the "PRE-DEFINED PRODUCTIVITY" mode of thinking.

This theory of historical stages of organizational development provides the basis for a new philosophy and practice of leadership. Organizational leaders can no longer be considered constructive and successful if they play conservative or radical roles, authoritative or participatory roles. Rather organizational leaders must become capable of enacting any one of these roles at the appropriate time in an organization's development. Each role can be either constructive or destructive, depending on the organization's stage of development and its point within the given stage. At the same time, organizational leaders can no longer be considered constructive and successful if they "grow" the organization in physical or financial or manpower terms. Rather they must become capable of leading the organization to grow in the qualitative, human, spiritual terms suggested by this theory, if that organization is to enhance and celebrate human dignity.

FREE SCHOOLS

One way to develop a more general sense of the applicability of this theory to other organizational settings is to see how it helps us to analyze the phenomenon of "free schools" as they have developed over the past eight years or so. The very name "free school" is already suggestive of the likely status of these efforts in terms of the organizational stages defined here. A fundamental motivation in the creation of free schools seems to be a reaction against the coercive, confining, conformity-producing bureaucratic structures of conventional education. At the same time, the utopian cast of the phrase "free school," as contrasted to more paradoxical phrases such as "open structure" or "liberating discipline," suggests that organizers loyal to such a concept are still caught in dichotomous thinking, still caught in the most intimate and insidious aspect of the structure they would like to reject totally. To the degree that this is true, they will tend to oppose all efforts to develop structures as contrary to the ideal of freedom. Likewise, they may oppose attention to practical, concrete effects of their behavior, in the interest of attending to abstract issues of social justice which conventional schools all too frequently ignore. Similarly, members of free schools, assessing reality through dichotomizing conceptual structures, may oppose all unilateral initiatives in the name of participative decision-making (what I have called "diffuse collaboration"). These are characteristic postures in which our staff at Upward Bound sometimes found ourselves and which I have repeatedly heard in characterizations of free schools.

The effect of such dichotomous thinking is to paralyze an organization between the stages of "Pre-Defined Productivity" and "Openly Chosen Structure", negating the former, unable to affirm the latter. Often the paralyzing conflicts themselves result in two polarized factions which might be named the "collaborative idealists" and the "task-oriented realists" (Lawler 1972, Hamilton 1973).

Dichotomous thinking also saps all creativity from conversations about the larger purposes of the organization, and these discussions tend to become defenses of pre-conceived ideologies rather than explorations toward illuminating integrative ideas. Furthermore, dichotomous thinking leads to a fault-finding orientation ("It's your fault," "No, it's your fault") rather than to appreciation of the systemic quality of relationships. Such fault-finding may operate under the guise of interpersonal openness and gradually poison the atmosphere.

Gaskin (1973) has written an encouraging account of how a parent-run community school gradually began to overcome this paralyzing fault-finding orientation, when the parent-chairwoman of the Executive Committee and the principal of the school both began to use a consultant to look at how they could improve the congruence and effectiveness of their own behavior. Until that time, the staff, the administration, and the parent policy-making communities had all tended to blame the other two groups for the school's problems. Since that time, each group has begun to do formative research on its own effectiveness, has begun to take more initiatives and follow them through to implementation, and has begun to hold workshops to develop needed skills.

Another aspect of the historical-stage theory which helps to analyze free schools is its emphasis on the early stages of organizational development. Cooper (1973) offers brief case studies of the development of seven free schools and impressionistically applies the Erikson theory to them (referring back to an earlier outline of my theory, Torbert 1972). Four of the seven schools disbanded in the first few years (one before opening). In all cases where significant "unresolvable" issues cropped up later in a school's development, Cooper finds that they leap-frogged over the "Investments," "Determinations", ~~and~~ or "Experiments" stages on the basis of sudden unilateral actions by a leader. Cooper puts particular emphasis on the long-term liabilities of leap-frogging the "Autonomy" or "Determinations" stage, which is reminiscent of the problems we encountered with our new staff at Upward Bound the second spring after leap-frogging over that same stage in our selection process.

The usefulness of fully negotiating the early stages of organizational development is exemplified by Lawler's (1972) fascinating account of starting an alternative school with working class teenagers. The process began by informal Sunday night meetings at his home, where an atmosphere developed in which the students felt free to talk about their lives, their problems, and their desires. Over six months, their concern moved from more concrete, short-term problems and solutions (e.g., boredom--camping trip together) to more abstract, long-term problems and solutions (e.g., alienation from school and from own future prospects--trip to Philadelphia to see alternative schools--discussion of developing own school). Together Lawler and the students gained moral and financial support from parents, the mayor, and the city council for a summer program.

At this point, the organizing process entered a year-long period of hiatus, paralysis, and breakdown. Lawler left the area for the summer after the program had been staffed. In the fall enthusiasm was still high, and a storefront was opened. Now, however, a distinct staff group had emerged and met regularly, and Lawler found his mode of operation opposed by the majority. His practical, political approach of having persons with a common commitment work together on the basis of individual initiative to achieve definite results was shackled by the predominant view in favor of formal, collaborative decision-making and of opening the storefront to any who wished to use it. Gradually, action declined in favor of conversation, and persons from the community who had not participated in creating the organization began to use the storefront irresponsibly, causing noise that disturbed the neighborhood and bringing in drugs and liquor. Finally, in the spring, the police raided the storefront after complaints and closed it. This crisis completed the demoralization of the preceding months and could easily have killed the whole enterprise.

Instead, working informally with the titular head of the staff and with the originally committed students, Lawler reopened the storefront and within six weeks restored its credibility within the community and gained funding and accreditation to open as an alternative high school. The crisis seemed to rekindle Lawler's assertiveness and to convince the rest of the staff that some action was needed. This startling emergence of the phoenix from the ashes seems largely attributable to the residue of shared spirit from the first year of organizing and to Lawler's leadership style which was more congruent in practice, if not in rhetoric, with the post-bureaucratic stages of organizing.

ESTABLISHED SCHOOLS

If free schools rarely achieve equilibrium at post-bureaucratic stages of functioning, many factors make it even more difficult for established schools to do so. In general, established schools are committed to achieving various indexes of pre-defined productivity, so that the twin spectres of chaos and paralysis, which organization members' anzieties often lead them to envision at crisis points between stages, are particularly threatening to faculty and administrators at such schools. Nevertheless, the vague visions of qualitatively better, trans-bureaucratic learning environments have permeated established institutions as well as the counter-culture in recent years.

My impression is that attempts to change established institutions or sub-parts of them usually go through repeated cycles of enthusiasm-semi-participation-paralysis-hostility-apathy-unilateral action by the staff-hostility-reexamination, ending after a few years in bitterness, exhaustion, and perhaps some rueful learning. The Harvard Graduate School of Education, where I now work, offers some interesting examples. It certainly qualifies as an established institution (though not nearly so much so as the rest of Harvard). At the same time, its faculty and students, all mature adults highly qualified in the bureaucratic terms of our society, have deep professional, and often personal, interests in developing qualitatively better learning environments. What more likely established institution to succeed in developing to the stage of "Openly Chosen Structure"?

In the past four years three new doctoral programs have started here, each explicitly committed not only to pioneering new areas of research and training but also to developing more humane, communal, participative processes. Each program began small, with between twenty and thirty students and faculty in each, and each has added about ten students a year, the earliest students now beginning to receive their doctorates.

Although there are many differences in atmosphere and emphasis among the three programs, their underlying organizational dynamics show several striking similarities. All three have been through the repeated cycles mentioned above, two ferociously, one more mildly. In all three cases, students repeatedly complain about the gap between faculty members' rhetoric and their actual practice. In all three cases, students seem to be competent fault-finders but seem paralyzed when it comes to taking constructive action. In all three cases, both students and faculty complain of endless abstract talk and virtually no collective action. The one meeting I attended of one of the programs may illustrate what they mean: the group spoke for two hours about ways in which they could get to know one another's interests better; various proposals for bulletin boards and other modes of communication were made; not once did someone share his interests, ask about another's interests, or suggest a procedure for beginning to share interests right then and there.

It seems that no matter what the differences in age, race, income, or level of formal education, persons in this culture are equally incompetent when it comes to organizing their thought and action in ways more subtle, more integrated, and more rewarding than the bureaucratic mode. I have sometimes seen black Upward Bound teenagers deal more subtly and constructively than white Harvard professors with theoretical differences inhibiting group action. I have sometimes seen rich, apathetic college undergraduates show more courage in confronting fraternity brothers than a professional usually shows in confronting colleagues.

I have seen enough such anomalies to feel sure that the kinds of knowledge and the kinds of practice currently propagated by our disciplines and professions provide no advantage whatsoever in organizing a better future life together. And I have seen enough unintentional destructiveness and defensive moral stupidity to fear what will happen if the conventional order finishes crumbling before we all develop a deep commitment to the common, personal, experiential learning necessary to move along the path of greater self-direction and fuller collaboration.

Just as I write this chapter in June, 1973, Jeb Magruder has testified at the Watergate hearings that he was merely emulating his ethics teacher, Bill Coffin, when he broke the law in the service of President Nixon during and after the Watergate incident. That he acted secretly, from loyalty to a person, and with intent to avoid prosecution, whereas Coffin acted publicly, with appeal to a higher law, and inviting prosecution seem to be differences too subtle for Magruder's moral intelligence to grasp in his moments of crisis (which is when moral intelligence is tested). He kept his cool in the witness chair at the price of sealing himself off from insight, ethical turbulence, and re-formation. Insofar as his choice symbolizes the kind of choice many of us make much of the time, it scares me and angers me. For, in a fast-changing cybernetic society human truth, not institutional loyalty, manipulation, cynicism, and hypocrisy, becomes the central organizing power. The immediacy and ubiquity of information undermines former notions of 'political realism' and makes truth-seeking, truth-telling and trust-building practically necessary as well as morally compelling political processes. Their absence, highlighted by the glare of media attention, quickly heighten public distrust of government to the point where it can hardly function, as the Watergate hearings show. Under these conditions unintentional destructiveness and defensive moral stupidity can no longer be considered personal privileges. Instead they now become fundamental threats to the spirit of law and order.

USING THE STAGE-THEORY TO PROMOTE CHANGE AND STABILITY

We can interrupt the somber line of thought projected above to inquire how the stage-theory can help persons and organizations to move along the path of greater self-direction and fuller collaboration. I will offer two examples of situations in which I introduced this theory.

The first was a nine-week Applied Behavioral Science Internship program in which I participated, offered by the National Training Laboratories at Bethel, Maine, during the summer of 1970. There were twenty-six interns from various professional and social action fields ranging from theology to community action, most of whom were Ph.D.'s. About three staff members were associated with us at any one time, rotating each week or so, except for one co-ordinator, who stayed with us throughout. The weekend after the third week the interns offered two community development programs for different communities in New England, an exercise arranged by the staff of the program. After this "Pre-Defined Productivity," a severe depression seemed to fall over the program, with many members questioning its validity. The weekend programs could have no more than marginal impact upon the respective communities and clearly did not represent a deep or sustained commitment by the interns to each community. Hence, they served as easy targets for complaints against the hit-and-run quality of the professional consulting model to which we had apprenticed ourselves. At the same time, various individual interns had received disconfirming feedback about their behavior from clients, peers, or staff and were devoting their energies to digesting that.

After a formal meeting had dissolved in tired inertia, an informal group of about half the interns spontaneously met together and decided to use the following day, which was to be devoted to modeling systems, to create models of the past, present, and future of the program. I described my stage-theory of organizational development to the sub-group with which I worked the following morning, and we agreed that it described accurately the significant events and sequences of the first three weeks, as well as the present crisis of purpose. We developed a specific structure which we thought would help us complete the transition to the "Identity" or "Openly Chosen Structure" stage, as well as a structure for living out the stage itself. During the afternoon, when the various sub-groups shared their modeling efforts, our model and suggested structure was enthusiastically accepted as the next step for the program (although there had been no expectation that the modeling exercises would necessarily lead to such action). The agreement was easy and unanimous, the only decision of that summer to which those two adjectives can be applied. Therewith, the atmosphere of the program brightened for the following week.

The transitional structure involved meetings of small groups to diagnose each individual's deepest personal/professional developmental aims and needs, as well as his or her foremost resources. The resulting lists were to be posted around the main meeting room, and from then on the following "stable" structure would occur. Each morning persons (including staff members) with needs or resources they wished attended to immediately would stand close to their lists, while others moved to the middle of the room; the persons close to their lists would specify what they needed or had to offer, while the others shopped among these choices for an activity that used their resources or responded to a need, thus forming groups for the day.

The result was a structure which expressed the particularity not only of this organization but also of each individual within it. Paradoxically, the physical movements highlighted freedom of choice and commitment to others at the same time, overcoming the commonly experienced dichotomy between "doing one's own thing" and concern for others (a dichotomy which egocentric applied behavioral scientists with social action leanings are most desirous of overcoming).

A deeper paradox, unnoticed and unresolved at the time but highlighted by later events in the program, was the emphasis of this particular structure on individual development rather than on some common need of the program as a whole. In this sense, we had not developed one particular structure for the program, but rather a framework which legitimized constantly shifting structures. Thus, it represented a partial regression to the "Experiments" stage of organizational development.

After a week of relatively satisfactory operation in our "Identity" stage structure and still well before the end of the program, intern conversation began to turn increasingly to apparently unproductive wrangles about the history of the program. Everyone implicitly assumed that his view of history was objective, at least with respect to himself. An atmosphere of complaint rather than of creative synthesis existed in these conversations. There had been much talk of the interns as a "learning community," and now the question arose whether we really were a community and whether that had been an appropriate aim in the first place. There was no sense that our present actions could make us into a community if we chose, thereby transmuting our shared history into the history of a community.

At the same time, some persons wished to change from the rotating "Identity" stage structure to more stable groups that could provide more intense personal growth experiences for persons. Once again, even though a form very much like what I have called "Foundational Community" was being proposed, there was little sense of creative struggle toward a common future and more sense of wrangling over personal preferences.

My model of historical stages still hung on the wall of the large meeting room, but it did not seem to occur to others that the various felt dissatisfactions might be symptoms of transition to another stage or that, if looked at together, they might form a pattern revealing the quality of the next stage. I did not reintroduce the model myself, partly because I was preoccupied by other matters, partly because I was not in the mood to take the responsibility of influencing others, and partly because I was interested to see whether anyone else would remember it. No one did, and the program limped to a somewhat desultory end.

Of course, as the name itself implies, the transition to "Foundational Community" represents the most serious possible commitment persons can make to one another (indeed, a more serious commitment than persons whose thought and action fits the "Pre-Defined Productivity" mode can possibly make), so it is hardly something to experiment toward for a few weeks at a time. Had we explicitly considered whether we wished to become a foundational community for one another, sharing our aspirations, our work, and our love across the thousands of miles that would soon separate us, we might well have decided that we did not wish to do so. But such a decision would have left an active taste in our mouths, a taste of choosing our own death, rather than the passive taste that seemed to me to be the common experience.

The second example is of a small organization of about ten persons funded to run drug education groups for public school staffs from various different districts. This group invited me to consult with them about how to research their own effectiveness both as group leaders and within their own staff. At our first meeting, the two members representing the staff informed me--before I could set the same condition myself--that I would have to meet the whole staff before a decision could be reached about our working together. At the full staff meeting a relaxed atmosphere prevailed, and members raised anxieties and concerns straight-forwardly, without misplaced efforts to avoid discomforting me. Thereafter, tapes and meeting observations revealed: (1) that dual group leaders already criticued one another's behavior thoughtfully; (2) that the staff operated collaboratively with horizontal role differentiations (e.g., a researcher, an administrator); (3) that a strong commitment to organizational tasks existed, such that, for example, one member willingly took another's pet to the veterinarian in an emergency so that the other could meet a regular task appointment; (4) that the openness was more than superficial. For example, the group decided together that one member should leave the organization because he was not good at leading groups. This was done in direct conversation with that member and with his agreement. In short, the organization showed itself to be functioning in a stable manner at the "Openly Chosen Structure" stage of organizational structure without any intervention on my part.

Later in the year, when the members of the organization were experiencing a particularly painful period of self-examination, trying to determine whether they should be trying to do the kind of job they were doing, with murmurs about disbanding and finding other work, I shared the historical-stage theory with the group, suggesting that they were at the crisis between "Openly Chosen Structure" and "Foundational Community." The theory provoked excited conversation. They felt that the characteristics of "Openly Chosen Structure" described them very well. It was as though they had needed such a concept to confirm their felt identity, to give them the confidence to continue to face the many uncertainties they were experiencing. The notion of shared purpose underlying structure seemed to legitimize the possibility of changing their short-term goals and pattern of operation without having to leave the organization. They also confirmed that they were beginning to experience "the interplay of opposites," having just the day before discussed at length whether to take a camping trip together and, if so, what the expectations about sexual sharing would be.

There was a sense of caution in the group about committing itself to "Foundational Community." I strongly reinforced this caution, noting that I myself did not know exactly what its characteristics meant and portended, and that spiritual research usually requires guidance if it is to exceed mere fantasy. As time went by, the group completed the tasks it had contracted for that year, at the same time significantly reconceived their goals for the following year, and won grants to do their newly-defined job.

It may be well to end our consideration of the stage theory of organizational development on this cautious note. To explore beyond the conventions of "Pre-Defined Productivity" and especially to approach the interplay of body and spirit characteristic of "Foundational Community" is to accept challenge and risk. To urge such a risk on others may serve only to increase the risk. Each person and each organization must consult his (her) (its) own yearnings and purposes to find whether caution requires this sort of risk.

XIX. THE POSSIBILITY OF ACTION SCIENCE

I have told a story about my personal experience in a situation where collective forces were bursting through pervious social definitions of reality. I have also elaborated a model and theory in an effort to highlight the general significance of the particular events I have recounted. In short, I am trying to tell the truth about certain events--events which I intuit to be of sufficient personal and social significance to warrant such an effort--this intuition itself the implicit truth I am trying to explicate.

A thousand and one objections to this purported "truth" immediately arise. How can I tell "the truth" when the very exercise of writing involves the continuing choice of this topic not that topic, this word not that word--in the continuing judgment to represent one aspect of reality in one way rather than another aspect in another way? How can I tell "the truth" when the very process involved in the telling always transcends its own explication, generating further truth/lie material?

Indeed, how can I claim to tell "the truth" when I disregard the usual conventions for increasing confidence that something approaching "truth" is being told? On the one hand, I might have told the story from my point of view, making only the modest truth-claim for it that it attempted to reproduce my particular perspective on some particular events. On the other hand, if I wished to verify a general theory with objective data, I might have taken the conventional precaution of researching events in which I was not an interested participant. Since I have violated both of these conventions, how can I support my claim to be telling "the truth?"

Moreover, if I am at all right in my characterization of "collective forces...bursting through previous social definitions of reality," then how could any one set of social terms--any one language--tell "the truth" about the two different social realities?

Which "truth" am I speaking of anyway? "The truth" that I and others acted thus-and-so at a given time? "The truth" as I saw it reflectively at the time? "The truth" of an event as its consequences for our community became evident? "The truth" of an event as I saw it at various retrospective points during and after the program?

How can I speak of "the truth" when I present an historical theory--a theory of change through time--of different truths at different times? What is the truth-status of the model within which the historical theory rests? Does it represent "the truth" in some trans-historical--some ontological--sense? What is the historical-cultural matrix out of which the model itself derives?

INSERT

"THE TRUTH"

These "thousand and one objections" to my project of telling the truth derive mainly, I think, from the implication deep within the linguistic structure of the phrase "the truth" that "the truth" could be expressed once and for all in some particular external form against which everyone and everything would thereafter be measured.

But "the truth" dances through history too, as do persons and organizations. In this case, the initial story of what happened at Upward Bound represents the physical-behavioral stages, the theory of collaborative

Some of these thousand and one objections might arise as questions of any attempt to tell the truth, but they all arise, and with special force, in the case of my attempt here, where I take the roles of both actor and scientist, of both observer and observed. The dilemmas that this particular effort introduces require a concept of truth and a notion of how to do social science considerably different from our conventional concept of truth and our conventional notion of how to determine truth through social science. Conventionally, day-to-day, we tend to view truth as validated, explicit, objective fact. My effort in this book will make sense only if we can conceive of truth and scientific method as embracing both the explicit and the implicit, as well as their interaction; both the subjective and the objective, as well as their interaction; both the actor and the observer, as well as their interaction; both thought and action, as well as their interaction; both the general and the particular, as well as their interaction; and both the temporary and the permanent, as well as their interaction.

This chapter and the next are devoted to developing a first taste for such an inclusive notion of truth and of social science as a procedure for determining truth. Even this first taste will offer many intermingled flavors -- flavors of the conceptual, the emotional, and the sensual aspects of truth; flavors of the personal, the social, and the epistemological espects of truth.

I will begin by trying to characterize in greater detail how we conventionally conceive of truth, contrasting this conventional notion to a more inclusive notion. Then I will turn to describing some fundamental features of a social science based on the more inclusive notion of truth. And finally I indicate some of the kinds of effort a person must make in association with others to prepare himself to practice this new kind of social science.

organizing over time represents the social-structural stages, the notion of action science, which follows, represents the incipient cosmic-spiritual stages.

"The truth" is also inexhaustible. It can never be fully or finally expressed. A tacit or implicit dimension always operates beyond the limits of our speaking or writing, as Polanyi (1958) has so eloquently made explicit for us. Nevertheless, with artistry, a valid concept and an appropriate emotion can be communicated, with the effect of refining and sensitizing another's awareness to the realm of the implicit, so that its messages may influence one's explicit behavior more clearly, more directly, and more strongly. One cannot focus directly on the realm of the implicit, for to do so changes its locale. We may be able to make explicit what was formerly implicit, but the new moment carries its own new implications.

The cosmic-spiritual stages of social development, if we reach them at all, will not be a time when everything is explained. They will not end all mystery, replacing the subtleties of life with the undifferentiated white glare of truth, as some persons fear when, offended by "too much honesty," they defend the social value of hypocrisy. No, the cosmic-spiritual stages of social development will not end all mystery. Quite the contrary, people will learn to welcome mystery and miracle into their moment-to-moment awareness. We will break the tyranny of our untrained focal attention and learn to include subsidiary and intentional modes of awareness within our definition and experience of consciousness.* The search for truth will cease to imply to us the destruction of mystery and will

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*I pursue the meanings and experiences associated with these different modes of awareness in Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness (1972).

come to mean once again, as it did traditionally, initiation into the mysteries.

Perhaps we tend to treat "the truth" as though it were a single, still and constant external thing because of its singular gender, because of its linguistic status as a noun, and because of the way the article "the" seems to pin down its referent. If so, the influence of this linguistic structure (and the social structures consonant with it) is very deep, as I learned a number of years ago when I interviewed blue collar workers and asked them, among other things, what they thought a perfect society would be like (Torbert 1973a). "Perfection" evidently sounded to them as static as "the truth" may sound to others. Let's listen to some of their comments:

(--What do you think a perfect society would be like?)

> "It would be awfully boring...There'd be no change or challenge to it--whether always a cloudy sky or bright and sunny."
>
> "It would feel like hell if people were perfect. People would have no ambition. There'd be no reason to have a governing body--there'd be no crime."
>
> "It would be monotonous: no squabbles; nothing to do."
>
> "I'd never get along in a perfect society. If we all thought alike and did alike, things would be going too smooth. It would cause a lot of unemployment because you wouldn't need the police or fire department."
>
> "There wouldn't be the challenge and excitement of the two-party system. There'd be no differences, nothing to discuss...If there are no challenges, the creative spirit dies." (quotes from pp. 153,175)

The worker's visions of perfection seem to be of a condition so constant that even the weather would not change, so singular that there would be no differences of opinion, so still that there would be no movement, no life ("people would have no ambition"..."the creative spirit dies"). Indeed, one of them explicitly stated the immense paradox of this vision of perfection, without seeming to be bothered by the dissonance of the paradox ("It would feel like hell if people were perfect ").

I do not believe that this peculiar twist of thought, by which the best of all possible worlds becomes transformed into the worst of all possible worlds, is confined to these workers. In this century we have seen claims of truth and promises of perfection wielded as banners for tyrannical regimes too often not to shudder at the horrors we associate with such words.

But more deeply internalized than this association, because more common, more habitual, and less conscious, is our tendency to treat truth and perfection as concrete, external qualities which would be achieved by obliterating untruth and imperfection. This tendency is reinforced by the technological emphasis of our society on the manipulation and transformation of external materials into desired products. Note the concrete and externalized quality of the workers' descriptions of a perfect society. The three abstract, internal qualities mentioned (ambition, challenge, and creative spirit) are mentioned as absent. Feelings of love, friendship and community are not mentioned, nor are ideals of justice and self-fulfillment, nor are any of the lively activities which such qualities would occasion.

Theologians have long pronounced the externalized version of God dead. Like these workers, most of us no longer believe in the externalized versions of truth, perfection, or God. But the ghosts of these old beliefs still haunt us, permeating the implicit structure of our thought in our very act of denying its explicit content. So, we deny the possibility of truth or perfection or God, while continuing to think of them (in their absence) in externalized terms. We thus succeed in throwing out the baby and keeping the dirty bathwater.

The words "truth", "perfection," and "God" only lead us toward tyranny, error, or paradox so long as we cannot appreciate them as relatively concrete,* external symbols for abstract** qualities which may in-form (or be blocked from in-forming) more concrete things, thereby bringing them into a new relationship with one another. Thus, the desire for a protected habitat and the concept "house" may in-form a man's behavior which, with the help of in-formed tools, can in-form some trees into a home. During this process the concept "house" will remain relatively still and constant (though the more concrete and specific image may change); the man's behavior will vary over time, but probably not so much so that he becomes unrecognizable afterwards to someone who knew him before he began; and the trees will be most completely transformed into unrecognizable shapes, textures, dispositions, and relations.

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*Although words are certainly the least concrete of externally visible things.

**I do not add the adjective "internal" here because the very contrast "internal-external" is external.

Beyond concepts there are still more abstract, usually pre-conscious qualities, such as the intuitive axioms about the nature of reality which bound each culture and nest it, in turn, within the earth-sun-planetary eco-system. And, still more abstract, since a relationship is in principle more abstract than the qualities related, is the relationship between such abstractions and more specific, more concrete, more ephemeral appearances.

Humanity uniquely straddles the worlds of the abstract and the concrete--of the informing and the informed, properly re-searching as well as en-acting "the "truth," properly struggling toward judicious receptivity or impression as well as judicious conductivity or expression. Humanity properly communicates between the mundane and the ineffable, our task to endow our activities with common intelligence. This particular task introduces standards into our living; we can ask ourselves at each moment to what degree phenomena impress our intelligence, and, in turn, to what degree our feelings, actions, and effects express common intelligence.

Such is properly the scope of social re-search--the undertow, the backflow, the reciprocal of social action, without which social action necessarily becomes incongruent, unjust. The more mundane qualities of human experience may express the more ineffable qualities congruently or incongruently--incongruences resulting from insufficient re-search.

The degree to which the understanding of truth outlined here appears strange to the reader indicates either the invalidity of this understanding or the widespread insufficiency of the kind of personal-social-spiritual re-search I allude to. The story I have told and the theories I have evolved to illuminate relationships among events can serve as materials for the reader's judgment between these two alternatives.

The terms "judgment," "judicious receptivity," and "judicious conductivity," and the repeated adverb "properly" warn us of the possibility--indeed, when we consider carefully, of the inevitability--of error in human affairs. Blinded by the brilliance of the visible world, we may not appreciate the possibility of re-search in the invisible worlds of thoughts, feelings, intuitions, and atmospheres. In this case, our judgments degenerate toward arbitrariness, our standards toward cultural relativity. Or else we may be at the outset of such re-search, in which case our experience of intelligence rarely exceeds the moment necessary to observe incongruity--error. In our distaste for what we see and our haste to right the wrong we observe, we forget to continue our research; we lose contact with living intelligence, and instead act habitually, compounding the incongruity and error.

On this page "the truth" is one phrase among many, the subject of many predicates. How can it be the "whole truth?" It cannot be, of course. The question itself is in error, for it implies that "the truth" could be captured on this page, whereas, at best, you and I can use these words to re-present "the truth" momentarily through our relationship here. Generally, though, "the truth" can first be appreciated as occasional witnessed incongruity, next as the struggle toward disciplined re-search and congruous action, and finally as an effluent quality, permeating, relating, defining, enlivening mundane things.

WITNESSED INCONGRUITY

For example, you, the reader, may experience right now an incongruity between your sense of "the truth" and the sense outlined here. You may be almost totally absorbed in defending or doubting your version, or in attacking mine, but you can be certain under these conditions neither of your version nor of mine, but rather of the incongruity between these words and your own thoughts. Such a truth may not seem like much to hold on to--and that is really just as well because anything that can be held onto is certainly not "the truth." The relationship between your thought and these words keeps evolving. If the metaphor of holding is at all appropriate here, we should think of "the truth" as holding (but hardly holding on to) us. Such a thought may remind us of a subtle, permeating, enfolding observation which can be occurring within us right now, alerting us simultaneously to this page, to our behavior of breathing and reading, and to the thoughts scurrying by to complement or interrupt our impressions. "The truth" plays in this field between innermost vision and outermost effect, transforming from illumination to energy to matter, transmuting from matter to energy to illumination.

The example of incongruity I have just offered is at once the most immediate and the most difficult kind of incongruity to observe. Even though, or maybe because, our own thought occurs continuously, it is difficult for us to observe it. Indeed, we spend much of our waking time observing things outside us from our thought. It is unclear how we would go about observing our thought itself. What would we observe it with? Perhaps we have some clues to the answer to this question from reading about the development of "higher" states of awareness (e.g. Castaneda 1972, Herrigel 1953, Ouspensky 1949), or from occasional experiences of our body as a pulsing, breathing background against which we can be not only thinking but aware of ourselves as thinking.

A much simpler example of incongruity would be the kind we can observe in others between what they say explicitly and the (implicit) way they say it. This "genre" can be illustrated by the statement: "Whatever you do, don't take anyone else's advice. Be independent. Do what you want to do." Here the speaker is saying not to take advice but is himself giving advice; he is telling the other to be independent while treating him as dependent; and he is ordering the other to be free.

Of course, incongruity between explicit behavior and the implicit process or structure of a situation is easier to see when we are looking outside ourselves, and even then it is rarely as blatant as the above example. Often there is not a direct contradiction between the content and process of a statement, but rather a discord, and one suspects that the person speaking would be uncomfortable if he knew explicitly what his manner of speaking implies. Or, the discord may be between the person's or group's stated intention and the effect of the actual pattern that evolves in a particular meeting. I have tried to point out these kinds of discord at various points in the Upward Bound story. The reader may recall examples from the early arguments during the staff meetings of the first spring (pp. 48-56), from the attempts to discuss problems in tutor meetings the first summer (pp. 138-143), or from the conversations of the core staff during the second winter when we researched ourselves (pp. 220-224).

A NEW MODEL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

In this context, the many questions at the beginning of this chapter concerning the truth-status of this book appear in a different light. We now see that they are all in one way or another based on conventional notions of contemporary social science about the character of "the truth." These conventional notions dichotomize the subjective from the objective, the actor from the researcher, the present from the past, the stimulus from the response. They assume that events occur from past to future, earlier events causing later ones, the most frequently recurring cause-effect relationships, measured by an unobtrusive researcher, representing the most general truth. I assume that events occur from intelligence to effect mediated by interruption, intelligence causing effect to the degree that chance or error do not interrupt, durational time characteristic of events (effects) only and not of intelligence (and therefore irrelevant to the question of causation), the process of causation observable only by a participant in it, the symbols which most revivify our awareness re-presenting the most general truth.

On a personal scale, we can model this relation between intelligence and effect at any one point in time as follows:*

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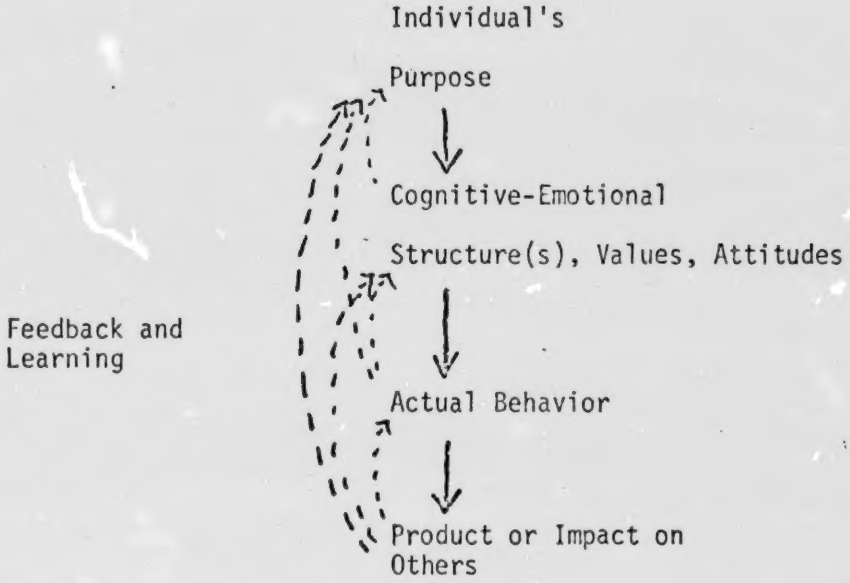
*This model is based upon theory and research reported in my *Learning from Experience: Toward Consciousness* (1972) and summarized in Chapter 2, of this book especially pp. 25-33.


Individual's
Purpose
Cognitive-Emotional
Structure(s), Values, Attitudes
Feedback and Learning
Actual Behavior
Product or Impact on Others

The various feedback loops presume that the person is awaredly in contact with more than one level of his functioning at a time and that he is willing to observe acceptingly the possible incongruities among them. Of course, this is not true for most of us most of the time, so the feedback loops are often inoperative.

Nor should the apparently straightforward conceptual relationship between purpose and effect tempt us to forget that these are different qualities of experience which operate according to different rules* and different languages, so there is always a problem of translation among them. For example, a purpose may be translated into concepts and words, as I did during the core staff research when I spoke of my purpose as

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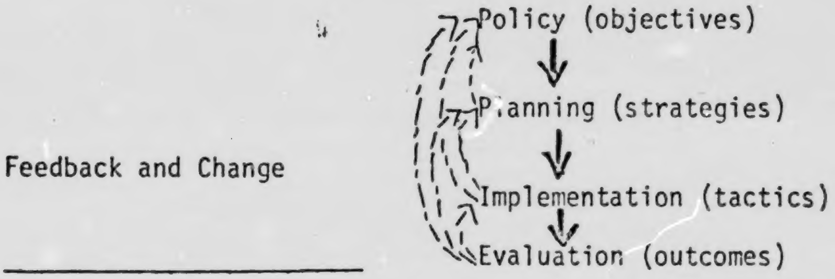
*Bateson vividly discusses the different rules pertaining to the physical, energetic qualities of experience and the psychic, informational qualities in Steps to an Ecology of Mind (1972).

"to increase self- directed learning in myself and other members (p. 184)." But the sense of purpose itself is felt--viscerally, emotionally, and intuitively--if it is anything more than mere rhetoric camouflaging one's lack of contact with one's own and others' inwardness. And once it is felt, one must experiment to find a way of articulating it that speaks to another's innermost experiencing. Most often, we do not feel these different qualities of experience and the translations among them as we act. Thus, the solid arrows among qualities of experience are often inoperative, as are the dotted feedback arrows.

To feel one's life-aim directly as one speaks would be to act wholeheartedly. Such moment-to-moment centeredness and contact among qualities of experience would, I believe, grant one's actions "truth-force."*

The same model, with the same discrepancy between optimal functioning and usual functioning, can be drawn for organizational or social processes. The models are drawn vertically to emphasize that we are not here talking about stages over time but rather about different processes occurring at the same time:



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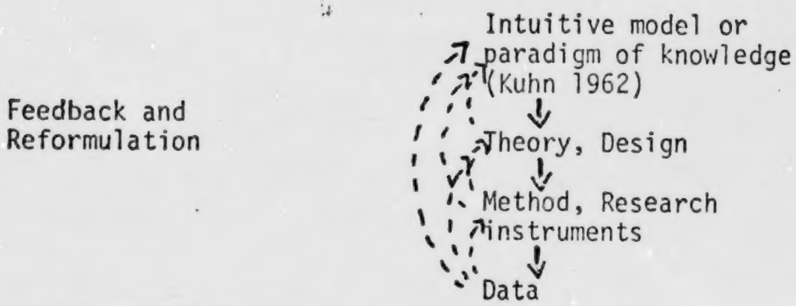
*The notion of "truth-force" as a quality developed by living life in a way that integrates the spiritual and the political realms is developed by Erikson in Gandhi's Truth (19).

The Upward Bound story offers many examples of incongruity among these qualities of our experience together, as well as many examples of our attempts to struggle toward greater congruity. For example, Greg's and my original dream for the program included notions about overall "policy" objectives as well as more specific curricular plans. But the more specific plans became incongruous with the objective of staff self-direction, so we ended up with a very different curriculum for the first summer. In the case of the selection process the second winter we developed our most elaborate translation of our objective into a strategy, and then succeeded at some points and failed at other points to implement the plan in ways that helped the applicants see the purpose behind it.

Many educational experiments, as well as the research projects set up to evaluate these experiments, fail to appreciate the fundamental problems of achieving awareness of, articulating, and developing feedback among these different qualities of experience. Consequently, neither the innovative organization nor the research is designed to encourage these processes. Then the innovators and researchers are surprised and frustrated when they discover that the effectiveness of the experiments and the meaningfulness of the research are both fundamentally undermined by such factors as: (1) a lack of clarity about the overall purposes of the innovation; (2) the lack of specification about what actual behavior by administrators or teachers would represent implementation of the innovation; (3) the discovery that, when implementing behavior can be specified, it does not tend to occur with any uniformity, so children are not really being exposed to systematically new and different learning environments; (4) the use of outcome measures that do not relate directly to what (at least some of) the experiments are purported to be doing and from which we cannot, therefore, (a) expect to find significantly different results among experiments (even if their purposes were clear, well-specified, and uniformly implemented), nor (b) interpret the meaning of such differences if they do occur.* After all, how meaningful is it to say that Program A was less successful than Program B at achieving Learning X among its students, when that was not Program A's purpose in the first place?

The model of personal and social action and learning offered here can help us to conceptualize the fundamental issues of our social life together--and to organize our action and our inquiry to address them. This model elaborates on the third way of approaching experience initially alluded to in the introduction. It points toward an integration of social action and scientific research--toward an action science. Indeed, we can use the same model to conceptualize the elements and relationships inherent in the process of optimal scientific research:


Feedback and Reformulation
Intuitive model or paradigm of knowledge (Kuhn 1962)
Theory, Design
Method, Research instruments
Data

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*This critique summarizes parts of Cohen's provocative paper "Social Experiments with Schools: What Has Been Learned?" (1973) and Lucas' "Implementing Social Experiments" (1973).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE NEW MODEL AND THE CONVENTIONAL MODEL

This model of scientific research varies in many ways from the conventional model of social science prevalent today. First, and perhaps most important, the analogies among personal learning, social organizing, and scientific research highlighted by the repeated use of the same model remind us that all three of these processes occur all the time, in all social activities, even if usually in distorted and incomplete fashion. Therefore, it is a fundamental error for a researcher to believe he can adopt a neutral, impersonal stance and to neglect to research the personal and organizational conditions that influence his research--i.e. to neglect to examine the research itself as a social activity. Likewise, it is a fundamental error for a researcher to believe he can superimpose his research upon another social process without influencing it. At the very minimum, if the research has no direct effect upon the persons researched (which is hard to conceive), it will reinforce their belief (so prevalent today) that research is irrelevant to action, which will distract them from acknowledging, evaluating, and improving their informal research processes (which is a very high cost). Instead, a responsible social researcher must examine and report his own research process--that is to say, his own action--and he must design and implement the research in a way that acknowledges, uses, and encourages the refinement of the informal research processes among the persons researched.

One effect of this emphasis on the varying qualities of personal, social, and scientific experience and on the possible incongruities among them is that the very factors listed above (p.443) which frustrate conventional educational research would be welcomed as early data in this model of research.

A second way in which this model of science differs from the conventional model is that it includes articulation and reformulation of the basic paradigm of knowledge as an explicit part of any scientific study. Kuhn (1962) has argued that "normal science" takes a certain paradigm for granted and operates within it uncritically. Only at critical moments of "extraordinary science," such as Newton's reformulation of the premises of the Ptolemaic universe or Einstein's reformulation of the Newtonian worldview, are paradigms examined, according to Kuhn. The model of science offered here implies that only what Kuhn calls "extraordinary science" really deserves the name of science at all. Furthermore, the model implies that if the researcher cannot examine the paradigm or worldview that guides his own research he can hardly hope to illuminate the myths or underlying purposes that guide other persons and organizations.

The quotations from blue collar workers expressing their views about a perfect society (pp.433) exemplify research which attempts to articulate the underlying myths guiding persons' experience. That same piece of research explicitly articulated the underlying model of the world and of man that guided the research itself. Another recent example of research which, using a masterful combination of individual and group interview techniques, approaches the subtleties of the worldviews of working class members is Sennett and Cobb's The Hidden Injuries of Class (1972).

More informally, various events in the Upward Bound experience exemplify research into underlying purposes and worldviews. The interactions at the national meeting between our articulation of the purpose of Upward Bound and the National Director's articulation strengthened and clarified our sense of identity and purpose (pp. 197-200). At the final staff weekend at the end of the second spring, Nat's argument in favor of "fascist mediocrity" served to articulate and draw the lines more clearly between two alternative views of human nature, of society, and of our organizational purpose (pp. 274-277).

Another difference between this model of science and the conventional model is the attempt here to develop congruity among the substantive theory of a piece of work, the design of the research, and the data-collection techniques.* Usually, alternative designs, and techniques are treated as having inherent strengths and weaknesses unrelated to the theme of the investigation. Only recently have some theorists begun to notice that experimental designs are fundamentally autocratic in their organizational assumptions and are, thus, utterly implausible for testing the open classroom theory or a notion of collaborative community organizing (Argyris 1970, Campbell 1971, Cohen 1973).

Based on the simple distinctions in the model offered here, we can see that certain research instruments are best suited to obtain information about certain qualities of experience. Thus in the realm of purpose, myth, wordlview, or paradigm, which is difficult for most persons to contact or to explicate, relaxed, trust-developing, depth interviews make more sense than pre-structured questionnaires. Questionnaires, in turn, may tap attitudes which respondents have already explicitly formulated. On the other hand, when one wishes to research actual behavior, questionnaires are unnecessarily unreliable because the actual behavior is reported through the perceptual-conceptual-emotional filters of the respondent, which may well distort what actually occurred. In this realm, systematic observation or tape or video recordings which are later systematically scored introduce the least bias. Finally, various kinds of actuarial and unobtrusive measures (Webb et. al. 1966) are particularly suited to determining the impact or outcome of some effort.

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*Denzin has recently argued cogently for such efforts in The Research Act (1970).

These compartmentalizations of research techniques are hardly airtight. They simply align the techniques with the phenomena they record with the least amount of unnecessary inference. Clearly, however, if the purpose of some social process such as schooling is to have a personal impact on its clients, then actuarial data alone will tell us only the most superficial things about its effects. Guided by a theory, we will want to use measures that tap relevant changes in students' behavior, attitudes, and worldviews as well. Similarly, it can be illuminating to try to infer persons' implicit, behavior-organizing worldview by looking at the pattern of their verbal behavior when they are working together. In such a case, the data (e.g. the tape transcript) must be presented to the public along with the researcher's inferences from it.

The data do not test or confirm the researcher's inferences. Instead, the researcher's public tests his inferences by trying to empathize with them and deciding whether they make sense. This process is exemplified most directly in the Upward Bound story by the transcript and inferences from the staff preparation meeting early the first spring, in which I infer what I call an "anti-educational worldview" implicit in some participants' behavior (p.56).

A fourth way in which the model of science offered here differs from the conventional model is that the feedback from the data collected to the reformulation of model, theory, or instruments occurs within the scope of a given study. Thus, for example, the theory of collaboration with which I began Upward Bound became refined and changed during the program itself and ultimately elaborated into a stage theory in retrospect. Ironically, in the conventional model of science this feedback process remains as implicit, incomplete, and distorted as it does in personal and social life. We know that models, theories, and instruments change over time as a result of some sort of feedback process, but a given study when published tends to report "positive" results*--i.e. data that confirm the initial hypotheses or theories--and to do so in a formal, deductive fashion that hides the processes of reformulation that the researcher went through to achieve such data.

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*It is acceptable to report "no differences" in evaluation research when the policy expectation was positive results, but in this case the finding reflects on the practitioners' theories, not on the researcher's. Thus, the researcher does not have to acknowledge error or incompleteness.

This bias toward "positive" and "clean" published findings severely misrepresents "the truth" in several different ways. First, our substantive knowledge will tend to overrepresent the more easily conceived and confirmed matters, thus distracting us from what may be the more significant issues and from the full complexity of life. Second, the public is denied a sense of where the researcher began in the research and how much he learned through it, knowledge which would help the reader determine what he himself can learn from the research. Third, science comes to model a closedness and suppression of error, rather than a gradual refinement of truth by examination of error, thus betraying its own spirit.

The discussion up to this point suggests two additional ways in which the model of science offered here differs from the conventional model. This model regards the field of knowledge as embracing both the researcher and the researchee, rather than just the researchee, and as including their interaction over time, rather than just the researchee's status at one (or at most a few) points in time. A research report that aspires to comprehensiveness would attend to the epistemological, social, and personal processes characteristic of both the researcher and the researchee and to their interaction and effects upon one another.

Ultimately, we should be able to develop a historical stage-theory for scientific research, as I have tried to do for social organizations in this book. Just as I suggested earlier (pp. 345-346) that valid intuitive action is necessary at crisis points early in an organization's life--action which cannot at the time be empirically confirmed--so a historical stage-theory of research would highlight the importance of intuitive grounding at the outset with full explication and empirical testing occurring more gradually.

This perspective on scientific research ~~has dramatic implications for the training of future researchers. It~~ also integrates research and social action in still another sense. For the practitioner knows that he cannot afford the time to do exhaustive empirical research at the outset of an organizing process. He must often rely on his intuitions. Thus, he rightly rejects the conventional model of research as irrelevant to him. However, in so doing, he often commits himself to imprisonment in notions which he mistakenly identifies as intuitions and to habitual ways of distorting feedback. The model of science presented here offers the practitioner a third alternative besides irrelevant and unfeasible research, on the one hand, and his own blindnesses, incompletenesses, and distortions on the other hand. This model of science offers him a method which, if he can intuitively affirm it, can help him gradually refine truth from error in the midst of action, gradually develop sufficient trust with his co-workers to engage in explicit collaborative research together (pp. 343-344), and thereby gradually test the validity of the initial intuitions empirically.

INSERT

INTERLUDE

An action science as contrasted against a reflective science. A science useful in the midst of social action--at the moment of action.

Insert - p. 451

This perspective on scientific research has dramatic implications for the training of future researchers. Social researchers will require different skills, different attitudes, different assumptions, and a different sense of mission than are now conventionally inculcated explicitly and implicitly by graduate programs. The differences all derive from the aspiring scientist's effort to include his own action, experiencing, and relationships within the field of increasingly objective vision and description which he regards as his research. The changes in the atmosphere of graduate programs must be great, when one considers that at present a student's style of action and experiencing are usually regarded as private matters, outside the university's scope of formal concern and competence, so long as certain written products meet faculty standards. A program which facilitated the personal development of a consciousness spanning one's own inner experiencing, one's transactions with the world outside, and the part of the outer world one focuses on would be characterized by examined conflict and intentional community, by confrontation of personal limits and nurturance of undiscovered potentials.

An ongoing research concerning one's own interactions with the world. Inquiry-in-action. A method applicable, for example, to the writing or reading of these words. A method whereby, on the personal scale which applies to each of us, intuition, feeling, action, and effect become simultaneously illuminated by intentional thoughtful attention and thereby can begin to struggle for mutual congruence. ¶ Let us examine more closely the qualities of intentional ~~thoughtful~~ attention conducive to conscious action, and ~~and~~ the steps one must take to prepare oneself to practice action science. That result

such attention and the

KINDS OF THOUGHT CONDUCIVE TO INQUIRY-IN-ACTION

Here I am, swinging gently in my hammock, basking in the Dallas sunshine, my body pulsing contentedly in the background, providing just enough contrast to my foreground thoughts to permit them to scurry past my inner vision without capturing me, leaving me a continual choice about how to organize this paper, my inner effort as well as the scene before me permeated by an intuition of significance.

Not that it isn't tempting from time to time simply to immerse myself in one line of thought; but today--with the birds singing all around, and brunch having appeared from nowhere, a gift from another member of this household, and just now a woman resonating beside me--today, I can taste so clearly the automaton-quality of pursuing one line of thought to the exclusion of all new revelations of knowledge. In what sense could that be a scientific approach? So, my thought explores various lines actively, interrupting tangents acceptingly, alert instead to radii--to moments of intuitive integration that move me simultaneously outward toward my social errand of writing and inward toward my spiritual center. I seek to verbalize certain ideas in order to make them socially accessible and at the same time to remain inwardly enlightened in order to continue to see the patterns I translate into ideas and words.

I wish to take a further step in each moment, to find the new mean for the extremes of my present experience: and, since my present experience includes you, my future audience, at one extreme, the mean-ing I am trying to do must struggle toward social as well as personal creativity to be valid.

This active thought gives way when blocked to a kind of high passivity--not low, automatic, day dreaming passivity--but pure alertness and receptivity to non-conceptual phenomena. The unarticulated intuition that "I can illuminate phenomena and relationships" gives way to a feeling of smallness--a feeling that "the already-constituted universe of experience must call, guide, and in-form me." Instead of struggling to generate meaning, "I"--the all-too-small part of me that is struggling--yields its prerogative and is recognized as one extreme in a larger dance of meaning.

A third quality of thought seeks reconciliation between these two. I per-mit my memory--I go through to it--regressing and progressing into past and future, searching for the present action that could knit them together. I recall occasions when I have written evocatively and other times when my writing was inaccessible. I try to remember fully--to reenter the experience of those different moments. I test how to enter the qualities I wish to enact and how to transcend the habits that could impede me.

These three qualities of thought which I just now sketched--

(1) the (active) attempt to verbalize present intuitions in a socially meaningful way;

(2) the (passive) receptivity to non-conceptual phenomena around and within me;

(3) the (reconciling) search for qualities of myself-in-the-present-moment that would integrate my past and future--

these three qualities of thought extend themselves toward the present, toward pre-cognitive and trans-cognitive aspects of present experience. By contrast, concentrated logic, reactive conversation, and day dreaming all involve qualities of thought which carry us away from our full present experience.

Perhaps this contrast between self-transcending thought and self-absorbed thought suggests why the youth culture of the sixties, with its strong political, ecological, and mystical concerns, so often bred a romantic, anti-intellectual experientialism. For, ordinary, automatic, self-absorbed thought so excludes direct experience and direct experience can so overwhelm our ordinary cognitive structures that we may react to qualitatively new experience by altogether denying the validity of thought, since our ordinary thought impeded our awareness. In so doing, however, we unawaredly forfeit the task of disciplining ourselves to kinds of thoughts which appropriately focus, illuminate and surrender to other aspects of experience. Moreover, in so doing, we unawaredly continue to think in ordinary, automatic, gross, dichotomous categories.

The alternative to anti-intellectual romanticism has also been opened, however--the alternative of developing disciplined higher thought, leading toward an action science. This alternative has so far been less visible for several reasons: first, it is hard, so fewer people have chosen it; second, as with all constructive efforts, it requires a relatively long gestation period before results become apparent; third, one must have intuited, exercised and recognized higher-thought-in-action in order to appreciate it as a significant possibility worth talking about; fourth, most of us need a lot of help to move towards higher-thought-in-action, but sources of real help are rarely evident; fifth, the recent psychedelic rhetoric, with its emphasis on "doing your own thing," "blowing your mind," and "getting into the flow," has been ill-suited to disciplined effort. Nevertheless, the recent vogue of spiritual adventure stories--such as the movies "Billy Jack," And "El Topo," John Lilly's autobiography of inner space, titled The Center of the Cyclone (1972), or Carlos Castaneda's apprenticeship to an Indian sorcerer as retold in The Teachings of Don Juan (1969), A Separate Reality (1971), and Journey to Ixtlan (1972)--testify to an at least superficial interest in modes of disciplined self-transcendence.

INTUITIVE AXIOMS FOR THE PERSONAL PRACTICE OF ACTION SCIENCE

An initial axiom of action science would hold that a person must undergo a to-him unimaginable scale of self-development before he becomes capable of relationally-valid action. Moreover, this self-development includes not only disciplining and freeing emotions and behavior--the personal elements often neglected by contemporary education--but also disciplining and freeing

The task of achieving disciplined higher thought can be facilitated by a network of relationships which challenge, complement and support one from all sides. A second axiom of action science would stress the importance of finding friends willing to take such roles for the sake of mutual development.

I would like to step back to a recent event in my life, in order to illustrate the interplay between the development of disciplined, intuitive, intellectual integrations and emotional self-transcendence through multiple relationships. This event occurred more recently than the events of the Upward Bound story. I cannot return to the Upward Bound story for examples of this axiom because I did not then understand this axiom and did not open myself to the kinds of experience I retell here.

Over Christmas, I encountered a friend, a philosophy teacher, whom I had not seen recently. We settled down to a two-hour feast of mutual sharing, each feeding the other, feeling like lost brothers, strengthening one another at a time when each felt calm in the knowledge that he could sustain himself, but unsure whether anyone else in the world could understand his aspirations and experiences. My friend returned home, "very high from our conversation," as he later reported. Late that evening he and his wife entered upon a painful conversation about whether their marriage could endure their effort to make it non-exclusive. His wife wept a great deal. By 4 a.m. she felt better, but he felt worse. Then, in his words:

> ...We turn out the light, and it occurs to Jane what has happened in terms of our trading emotions, and that it often happens that way. She said she wished she could do for me what I did for her, but that I had a way of going off and licking my wounds...And it was true, I knew or felt that she could not give me the kind of support or whatever that would get me out of where I was. And then, very suddenly and very shockingly I thought of the conversation we had had and how you had talked of a non-genital physicality with

> other men, of being held and virtually nurtured, and how strange and good that felt. I had not understood you really when you said that, however much I may have nodded appreciatively. But all of a sudden I did understand and at that particular moment I wanted to be with you. Very simple: "I want Bill." And then all sorts of things started happening. Like I started crying. Now I almost never cry--maybe five or six times in the last twenty years. And this was much harder crying than any of those other times, harder than I can remember. And I started seeing all sorts of things about myself and my background and family, that I could never remember being really held by my father, maybe that he couldn't hold me because his background was perfect for generating homosexuality which he had to be pretty worried about, I expect, and that the coldness between my mother and me did not just come from her the way I had thought, but that with me it was something like: if my father won't hold me then I won't let anyone hold me.
>
> ...But apart from the specifics, the really incredible thing was the totality of the experience of letting go. It was really much more of an ego death than anything I've experienced on acid. The feelings I had were out and out trippy--rushes, incredible fullness and joy, a sense of newness, rebirth--and all of this compounded by the awareness that one of the hopes or expectations I had recently given up was a belief in break-throughs. One hears of such experiences, and during the past three years I have lived in such a way, and put myself to the kind of tests that might produce such cataclysmic changes or realizations. But along about last spring I resigned myself to the belief that I was irreparably stable and that any changing I might do would be strictly incremental.

This, then, is his description of emotional self-transcendence. He goes right on in his letter to describe the effect of this experience on his development of disciplined, intuitive, intellectual integrations. Then he describes experiences which illustrate his sense of heightened sexual and spiritual resonance. But, for the purposes of this occasion, I want to share with you what he has to say about developing disciplined, intuitive, intellectual integrations:

> The first and perhaps most direct payoff was in my work. For years I've been trying to understand a felt continuity in nineteenth century philosophy from Hegel to Nietzsche. I'd just been teaching Kierkegaard, and once again struggling with the paradox of the experience of eternity. Then one night just a week or two after the "breakthrough" I found myself lying in bed, unable to sleep because thoughts were racing through my mind. I stayed up all night, and before my mind's eye a whole book spun itself out. The basic theme is the role of the experiential grasp of truth in nineteenth century philosophy, particularly the almost mystical experience of eternity, and the way the role of experience has been buried under layers of over-intellecutalized erudition. In any case, the whole book is up there, it hasn't faded, and in subsequent weeks I've checked some of it out while teaching the relevant texts, and my classes have never gone better...Here's another irony...like the sacrifice of breakthroughs: for years I've been cautioning students against what I call the Mozart complex--thinking you have to have the whole thing in your head before you sit down to write, the way Mozart had whole symphonies in his head, note for note, before he set them down on paper. "Use the paper as your laboratory" I said. "Let the ideas work themselves out in the course of writing, and then go back and edit. That's the way I do it, the only way I can do it." And here I have a whole book in my head.

I would say that this man is reconciling the dichotomy, so prominent in the youth rhetoric of the late sixties, between revolution and stability, between working against or outside "the System" and working for "the System", by accepting patiently the huge scale of personal growth each nominal adult requires to achieve a valid, communicable, persuasive, personal integration. Both his work towards such integration and his achievement of it--as expressed through authentic daily actions as well as through any more delimited product such as a book--in other words, both process and product--transcend and thereby humanize existing systems. Sometimes he may appear to work within "the System," sometimes outside it, sometimes against it. Really, though, he is seeking to work "over", "through" and "beyond" "the System," playing one small but potent role in transforming it by achieving a higher level of integrity and effectiveness than players transfixed by its power--a power neither more nor less great than ordinary, automatic thought, being an expression of it.

Original integrations are rare enough in themselves, but I would argue that the vehicle through which ~~it~~ such integration is being achieved by this man--through a gradually emerging network of intimate friends--is historically still rarer. Original integrations have been achieved by the founders of great religions--we can think of Gautama, Jesus, Mohammed. In all cases their principal revelations occurred in isolation from others. Gautama left his family; Jesus travelled into the desert; Mohammed made nightly visits to a cave. More recently, Erikson (1969) has explored Gandhi's life for us and shown the degree to which his wife and children suffered from his political and spiritual generativity. As Erikson says, persons who become great tend to endure a prolonged identity crisis which is resolved so uniquely and appropriately as to generate new myths and structures persuasive to others as well as themselves. That is, these persons seem to jump from the "identity" to the "generativity" stage of personal development by-passing the "intimacy" stage. In so doing their impact is sometimes so profound as to regenerate whole cultures. But because they come to us with truths gained through social isolation, these truths gradually become warped as they enter the context of unjust communities. Their parables and precepts can aid personal transformation, but not communal transformation.

This perspective on previous original integrations may help to augment appropriately the sense of challenge implicit in the action science axiom which triggered the foregoing story and thoughts--the axiom that an early step in the direction of action science would be the development of a circle of friends who would challenge, complement, and support one's own development towards higher thought. It appears that the genuine intimacy that would be the hallmark of such a circle of friends is, on the one hand, not approached by most persons, who prefer to surround their close relationships with privacy, habit, and unexamined personal or cultural premises, and is, on the other hand, overleaped by historically great men of truth, who achieve their culture-transcending integrations in solitude.

Why has this "Great Man Deviation"--this bypassing of the intimacy stage--tended to occur?

SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT

I will begin to answer this question with the very general proposition that the "Great Man Deviation" has occurred because social institutions, cultural values, and personal friends have tended to discourage the personal growth necessary to achieve original, personal integrations (see the discussion of bureaucratic reality, p364 ff); hence, the need to leave behind existing institutions, values, and friends as a man feels himself approaching rebirth under a new constellation. ¶ This proposition suggests, in turn, a third axiom of action science: that the earliest personal steps on the path toward action science unavoidably have immediate and strong social consequences, even though the person accepts that he is not at a point to take valid social action and is therefore not focusing on changing others. Since action science concerns one's own-life-with-others, there is no safe cadaver to practice on, no setting from which one is emotionally disconnected to study. At best, one's early errors in observation and experiment may be protected from disastrous consequences by corrective feed-

I can illustrate this social effect of early personal steps toward action science, as well as the kind of knowledge such steps can generate, by returning once again to some themes in my Upward Bound experience.

I accepted the Upward Bound job with the confidence that I did have some special competences to do it, but simultaneously aware that in a most profound sense I did not know what was appropriate education for high school aged students of different race and class from myself. Believing that collaborative decision-making might break through our students' patterns of hostility to authority and to learning and not feeling the inward authority to make the right decisions myself, I created a collaborative environment from the time of my initial meeting with potential advisors and staff members. After our first summer together, it appeared that the collaborative social environment, which I had generated partly because I was not confident that I knew what was right for others, was itself in some important ways right for others. Thus, even though I accepted that I was not at a point to take valid social action, the very leadership behavior dictated by this acceptance had immediate and strong social consequences, illustrating the third axiom of action science.

Now, obviously, it would have been irresponsible of me to continue to maintain, after experiencing and seeing the results of the first summer, that I still knew as little as before about taking valid social action. Moreover, all members of the program--black and white, rich and poor, staff and students, academic successes and academic failures—knew one another a lot better after the first summer. Therefore, we were all in a much better position to take valid social action in relation to one another. And this new relationship among us implied in turn, that pure collaboration ought no longer be the most valid social form to join us, at least not for the same reasons that I originally used to justify collaboration.

OBJECTIVE TIMING

These considerations introduce a fourth axiom of social science: that objective timing is of the essence to relationally-valid action. This axiom directly contradicts the efforts of reflective academic science to develop theory generalizable to all times and places. It also contradicts most persons' tendency to settle into, or try to justify, one particular style of social behavior as more effective than others. This axiom underlies the historical theories of organizing presented in Chapters 15-18. The idea is that the kinds of personal leadership and organizational structure which will be effective vary according to the developmental age of the interaction in question.

"Objective timing" — a strange-sounding phrase. I sit quietly this morning, searching for a trustworthy impulse to begin writing about objective timing, listening to the familiar conversations that begin in myself about this phrase, each voice a small vested interest more concerned to be heard than to express the related flavor of all the fragments. Struggling against the temptation to begin "half-heartedly," I gradually become less identified with each succeeding fragment and more aware of the common flavor.

I write the above paragraph with considerable confidence that I am succeeding in beginning at the beginning in sharing with you how I differentiate subjective from objective timing. Both are very human processes, but subjective timing results when I behave on the basis of fragmented and habitual perceptions, thoughts, or feelings; whereas my timing becomes more objective as I struggle beyond these fragments to act from an impulse at once more centered and more dispersed.

I pause now in my writing, more aware, but without convincing impulse. I wish to remain receptive, but where should I direct my attention?

A child enters the living room. Will he distract me? Yesterday he and I played an exhausting version of ping-pong which ranged far beyond the confines of the in-any-event-rather-broken-down table. Now I fear he may demand more of my attention than I wish to spare. At the same time, I feel my affection for him, a wish to acknowledge his presence. I look up only briefly, still absorbed and distant, but nevertheless saying "Hello" willingly and warmly, calm rather than anxious because I have integrated both feelings at once in my behavior. He responds in kind and, appreciating both my prior engagement and my warmth--without needing to react negatively because of having been slighted or uncared for--he veers from me without hesitation to occupy himself with the reconstruction of a block fortress. So, man and child, without friction, distraction, or recrimination, obey the rhythm that moves them from common play one day to separate work the next. A more discriminating attention and the complex behavior it inspires transform interruption into exemplary impulse.

Now, a surge, a welling up within me, dictates still another metaphor, besides flavor and rhythm, for expressing this distinct source of personal behavior:

> through the midst of everyday life within and among persons courses a subtle, silent current, which when we struggle beyond our dulling habits to recognize it and permit it to inform our actions, creates from our movements a dance, from our differences a higher unity.

Of course, as I believe my story about Upward Bound abundantly shows, there are a million and one hindrances in our everyday categories of thought and rhetoric which deflect us from the struggle upstream and which unnecessarily dam the flow downstream.

So we begin at a great distance from direct and continual experience of the intuitive current that shapes situations and evokes relationally-valid timing, and also we begin without the paradoxical web of thought necessary to encode this current and without the supple modes of behavior necessary to enact it.

In other words, we begin at a great distance from objective, valid action, from anything approaching what might be termed "action science;" at such a great distance, in fact, that it may appear either ludicrous or dangerous to use the phrase "action science" at all. Does it not falsely elevate a very common kind of personal exploration? May we not merely authorize and enshrine someone's personal prejudices under the name of "action science?" Who, or what standard, in cases of dispute, is to be the final arbiter of whether an act embodies the hypothetical current?

A NASCENT SCIENCE

The objections and questions raised in the previous paragraph all depend upon an implicit definition of science as a body of sophisticated and valid knowledge. But that is not science. That is the result of science, the misleading, public face of science as dictated by the conventional model. We might as well call "science" its intuitive, halting, chaotic genesis (which repeats itself anew in each scientific investigation of significance), or its often circuitous, exasperating process. The point is that science includes all three--genesis, process, and result. But in its effort to generate timelessly-general and disembodiedly-public knowledge, reflective science has tended not to attend to its own quality as timed action. So it is not surprising that we should come to associate science with its final, recorded form.

In this light, it would seem all the more appropriate for a nascent science, and one dedicated to timely action at that, to emphasize first its genesis and then its early developmental steps.

In this light, we can reread the sentence that set us off on this detour as a positive, descriptive statement rather than as a negative, evaluative one: "We begin at a great distance from direct and continual experience of the intuitive current that shapes situations, and also we begin without the paradoxical web of thought necessary to encode this current and without the supple modes of behavior necessary to enact it."

Can the reader accept this statement as descriptive of where he begins? It is, to be sure, a curious and paradoxical statement in itself, for it asks us to identify three qualities ("intuitive current," "paradixical thought," and "supple behavior") with which we are, in the same breath, supposed to assert our lack of familiarity. But if we are unfamiliar with these qualities, how are we to identify them in the first place? Well, we may have had occasional tastes of what the current of the situation demanded. Perhaps one in a hundred times, as a small child suddenly begins to cry, we intuitively "see" precisely what he needs and enact it with a fluidity that instantly changes his mood. Perhaps we have experienced paradoxical thought when we have felt freer upon recognizing a limit, or found ourselves relaxing upon admitting how tense we feel.

Perhaps we have mastered the technical disciplines of a sport so thoroughly and can now interweave them so spontaneously that we can imagine the taste of truly supple behavior in everyday life.

In addition to these occasional intuitive "tastes," we must develop a still subtler awareness--shall I call it an intuitive "smell"?--before we can objectively accept the original statement as descriptive of us. This intuitive smell provides us with a sense of the vast regions of our lives that are not characterized by conscious translation of an "intuitive "current" through "paradoxical thought" into "supple behavior". So, we arrive at the paradox that we must experience and trust various intuitive "tastes" and "smells" in order to affirm that we are generally alienated from such intuitions; and at the further paradox that our intellect must measure objectively the scale of our inability to act rationally. By some such path we may develop an appreciation of the original statement as a positive description.

Our first struggles upstream yield a view of tangled webs of thought, feeling, and unco-ordinated behavior. Dismayed, we may overlook the virtue of our widened, more objective vision. Not counting our achievement, we rush back downstream to the more familiar waters where we spied the impediments, determined to right all wrongs. Once there, our newest thought or act only adds to the tangle, and we soon begin to forget what caused all the excitement in the first place. Everything appears familiar, comfortable, safe--until the next time we feel strongly the inadequacy of our lives. Then the cycle begins anew.

Unless we can take the initial vision from the vantage point upstream as a positive description rather than as a negative evaluation.

Even the genesis of action science is a strange process.

So many branches and brands of philosophy and social analysis are founded on valid momentary intuitions of human situations. But rather than continuing the effort to see directly, the author has retired into reflective thought to build a model of the world based on his momentary vision. This tendency leads to two essential distortions of reality. First, we are offered many visions of truth, but ~~none~~ few of our distance from truth. Second, visions of truth strive to encompass and subordinate all times, thereby obscuring the new mystery-revelation-realization inherent in each life-moment.

The active process by which thought breaks beyond self-absorption to intuitive vision is paradox. The creative act must ~~run~~ occur beyond conventional categories. It will pierce through conflicting terms of a dichotomy towards actual as well as ideal reconciliation.

We can list a series of conceptual dichotomies that bedeviled Upward Bound and characterize contemporary Western civilization:

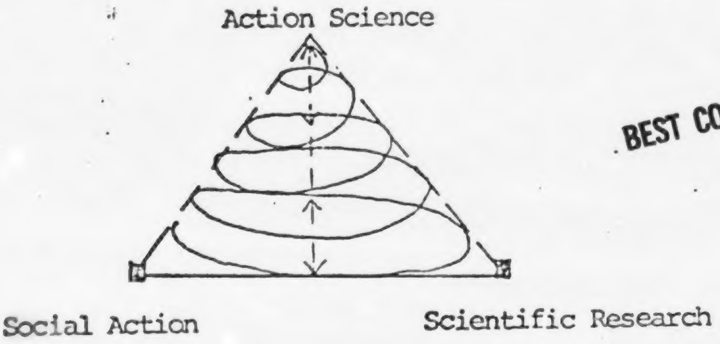
social action ----------------------scientific research
actual--------------------------------ideal
discipline----------------------------spontaneity
group---------------------------------individual
conformity----------------------------freedom
centralized control------------------participatory democracy

If we begin with the assumption that these dichotomies are irreconcilable and that all action must occur within their framework, then we take on some shade of extremism or compromise in action. But, however extreme our actions, they will never be radical; and however skillful our compromises, they will never be creative. All our solutions will be bound by the same conventions that produced the dilemmas we are seeking to resolve.

Since our ordinary thought operates in terms of dichotomies, it cannot of itself provide the creative, radical, paradoxical resolution to dilemmas. It must first be informed by intuitive vision and embodied by conscious action. But if ordinary thought cannot resolve dichotomies, it can point itself toward their resolution by imagining what the resolution might be and then humbling itself in action, searching for, rather than dictating, patterns, dissolving in favor of the kinds of higher thought alluded to earlier.

I find it helpful to imagine each dichotomy as a potential triangle, the apex of which represents the real resolution to the dilemma. Although in some cases we may be able to find a word or phrase to characterize the potential paradoxical resolution, we must not fool ourselves into believing that we have thereby achieved or been granted the resolution. Increasingly, we must become comfortable with terms that are not fully defined and that stand for states and processes we have yet to real-ize, terms that point a direction down a path we have yet to travel.

Thus: social action /scientific research: action science. How incompatible are influence on our environment and illumination of it? Is there no human analogue to the sun, which at once illuminates, heats, and attracts the earth?



XX. THE SCALE OF INQUIRY-IN-ACTION

Inquiry-in-action awakens us to the human cosmos so close at hand that we overlook its patterns and forces--its suns and planets, its true gravity. Instead, our gaze for centuries transfixed at the middle sizes and distances of the world "outside" us, we have developed a scientific method that simultaneously treats the researcher as disconnected from the events he observes and strives to reinforce this disconnection. How relative this method is begins to become clear in the twentieth century as we begin to appreciate its inapplicability to the sciences of the very large and the very small, and the sciences of the very inward and the very common.

* * *

At the age of twenty when I first came into contact with the possibility of inquiry-in-action--of action science--I imagined the exploration it introduced me to as requiring twenty years. Two years later I took the opportunity to start Yale Upward Bound. Another four years later I first formulated the terms "inquiry-in-action" and "action science". And two years after this--long after my Upward Bound experience--I envisioned a metaphor that I hoped might communicate my increasing respect for the scale of the discipline of inquiry-in-action. My own life was changing in wondrous ways--not the least enjoyable of which was my decreasing sexual frozenness, anxiety and preoccupying desire and my increasing sense of the playfulness, mutuality, dignity, humor, and holiness sexuality could express. Over the years

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* * *

Inquiry-in-action dissolves the chrysalis of habit and in-forms the possibility of ec-stasy, real-izing communal consciousness through witnessed joy and suffering.

I am speaking of making love as a life-act, transferring to each fragment full knowledge of the whole and thereby transmuting each fragment into a valid expression of the whole.

* * *

In a world so low and cold now that most mysteries are hidden from us, the mystery of the transcendent power of orgasm remains accessible, at least as myth, at least in private. Orgasm is beyond each of us and takes care of itself: it is not directly our concern here.

But we may know that we can act so as to open ourselves to orgasm with another, disciplining ourselves to mutual rhythm, or we can freeze or repel or overanticipate or underrespond with the result of preventing or hindering or trivializing orgasm.

The process of disciplined opening in fully erotic love-making, of asking and responding, intruding and yielding, giving and accepting, filling and being filled, pressing and pausing, within and between persons, simultaneously and sequentially, trying to follow a thread of development and giving surprise free rein--this process visibly manifests inquiry-in-action at one time.

Touch as question, and each succeeding touch as question again, as answer too, but as so much more than merely answer that it is felt as immediately plunging toward the succeeding question, and so into a whirlpool of such force, intensity, and speed that ordinary thought is drowned, and consciousness either dimmed or heightened according to one's preparation--this is a trace of sensation as inquiry-in-action.

* * *

To describe the emotion of inquiry-in-action, the thought of inquiry-in-action, the temporal pattern of inquiry-in-action as a relationship develops towards the climax of making love--to describe these qualities of inquiry-in-action would already be to ascend into the realm of the invisible.

To describe inquiry-in-action as a life-time process would require still further ascent, beyond the realm of the invisible-but-present to a realm of the invisible-and-absent. For, having yet to live out our lives, how are we accurately to re-present our lifetimes to ourselves?

* * *

Such ascent into the invisible marks inquiry-in-action as different from the kind of inquiry characteristic of reflective science, with its reliance on visible, empirical results. Such ascent into the invisible, without ceasing to strive for impartiality and validity, leads us at moments heavy with fear at the potential arrogance of such a direction, at other moments dancing lightly with a grace only destiny's partners can achieve, towards an action science.

THE QUALITY OF TRUTH IN ACTION

Not *concern with* the invisible, but *ascent into* the invisible marks off action science from ordinary reflective science. For reflective science has long flirted with the invisible, gradually dragging its anchor from its original mooring, purportedly just off a seventeenth century land of observable facts, till now we find it far adrift in a twentieth century ocean of abstractions. Reflective science happily plumbs this ocean with the help of mechanical contrivances, descending into the invisible and returning with stories of quanta and waves of light, twisting spirals of genes and chromosomes, and atomic galaxies. By contrast, no machine, only higher consciousness, can aid *ascent* into the invisible.

Not only ascent into the invisible, but more specifically *ascent and return to the everyday world* marks off action science from reflective science.

For reflective, empirical science has ironically sought its ultimate framework in a discipline that traces invisible forms, mathematics. The mathematician ascends into the invisible world of higher intuitive thought, attempting faithfully to trace its forms; but he does not apply such thought to the interplay of his everyday behavior, feelings, and intuitions. The mathematician turns away from the visible world to focus his attention upon the invisible. His consciousness remains restricted to that upon which he is focusing. By contrast, inquiry-in-action requires the expansion of consciousness to include visible and invisible levels of experience at once, as well as the ascent and descent of focal attention among these levels. Inquiry-in-action is the search for timely personal expressions in the visible world of invisible, transpersonal, time-encompassing life-impulses and life-forms. As such, its task is to see and test at each moment the congruity of transformations among the experiential levels of timely life-impulses, timeless life-forms, and timebound life-expressions.

* * *

The ultimate moment of inquiry-in-action also defines its aspiration—the moment of appropriate, valid action, the moment when action strives to embody science. This moment epitomizes the difference between reflective science and action science, since the former results in knowledge detached from action, while the latter strives towards knowledge embodied in action.

* * *

Two further characteristics distinguish action science from reflective science at this ultimate moment. The action must not merely reflect an accurate sense of the rhythms and requirements of mankind in general in situations similar to the present one; the action must also recognize and sharpen the unique question posed by this unique situation to these unique persons. In short, the knowledge relevant to action science must go beyond specifying the generally true as is the aim of reflective science, to specifying the uniquely true.

The second distinguishing characteristic intertwines with the first. Action occurs in, and impacts on, human situations. Its validity and appropriateness are therefore defined in relation to situations, not in isolation from them. Also, action occurs as an expression of a human agent at a certain point in personal development. Its validity and appropriateness are therefore judged in relation to the aims of this actor, not in isolation from them. Like Einstein's theory of relativity--actually a theory of relationality--which refocuses the sciences concerned with light phenomena from describing objects to describing relationships between subjects and objects, between observers and observed, so inquiry-in-action strives to refocus the human sciences from describing human phenomena as objects, essentially unrelated to the inquirer, to describing and participating in the action of relationships among persons, of whom the inquirer is one.

THE INQUIRER

How shall we describe this inquirer? Is it enough to ask each reader here to describe himself? In one sense, yes, for the life-questions which first energize and later form inquiry-in-action inhabit each of us. Moreover, we must remain, or rather become, faithful to our own questions in the course of our inquiry. No matter how much change is required of us to act validly and impartially, it must be change in the direction of congruently expressing our essences.

But, the foregoing words already begin to suggest that in another sense, no, the inquirer will not be described when many readers describe themselves, for he will be more or less hidden from their own present perception. They will imagine themselves as this or that kind of person, yet the inquirer finds his home in none of these occasional imaginings. In fact, such self-concepts divert one's attention from inquiry-in-action in a most dangerously lulling manner. Although they are actually the most transitory of phenomena, entering one's mind just long enough to plug holes through which what at-first-feels-like anxiety might fuel inquiry, these imaginings pose as permanent qualities of self. If taken seriously and valued, they smother inquiry-in-action both directly and indirectly, by consuming its energy and by camouflaging the unknown lifetime-self as already known.

The inquirer, then, recognizes and takes seriously that he does not in general, and cannot even when he tries, conceive or feel his life as one. This is the first barrier to making love as a life-act: the protagonist in unknown. Man's lifetime body is unknown to himself.

This line of thought quite naturally raises a second question: who is the inquirer's partner in this lifetime act of making love? The very strangeness of the question suggests to us that again we do not know. Moreover, if the inquirer is unknown himself, how likely is it that his partner will be known to him?

Nevertheless, we can pursue this question a bit further to gain a sense of its scale, for its quality is reminiscent. We are reminded of the Catholic monastic tradition in which monks and nuns forego carnal partners as a discipline in keeping with their lifetime task of making love to Christ. The tradition also tells us that they are not the only ones who take Christ as their lifetime partner; they are not necessarily the most holy among us; rather, they view carnal partnership as for them a distraction from Christ rather than a fulfillment in Him. For others, carnal knowledge will congruently embody and celebrate spiritual intercourse. ¶ We are treated to a vision of mankind as a whole potentially making love to Christ across the ages, whole civilizations perhaps experienced as single more or less successful episodes of love-making. Or becoming more orthodox and taking seriously the role of the individual as a member of mankind, the inquirer envisions himself as a member of the Body of Christ which is making love to some Cosmic Other.

Having established this scale—the unknown inquirer as member of a time-encompassing cosmic body in the act of making love—we see more clearly how deeply we have entered the realm of the unknown.

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Thus, whatever the quality of myths and traditions, inquiry-in-action can serve a personal function for each individual. The urge to discover his time-encompassing body and authentically express it in his everyday behavior can define each man as inquirer.

THE SETTING

Since both the epistemological principles and the personal practices of inquiry-in-action strike relatively unfamiliar chords, it follows that our current social instruments -- organizations, family groups, and informal associations -- tend not to be attuned to this process. From this it follows further that he who would realize the inquirer in him commits himself from the outset to transforming the social settings he encounters, or to discovering little-known alternative settings, or to creating new social settings, if he is to receive any support from his environment in his inquiry. And he must find support, both because he needs guardians against his own indolence and capacity to fool himself and because simply withdrawing from hostile environments can never lead towards effective, valid action in social settings.

* * *

What real feelings can we identify in ourselves that reflect such a process? They are not ordinarily evident to us.

Where is the sensual current of excitement that would course through our days, estranging us from boredom, were our life as a whole indeed participating in an act of making love? It is not ordinarily evident to us.

How does the structure of our thought impregnate each trivial act and decision with significance, just as in making love each touch, each sound becomes suffused with the aura, mood and meaning of the act as a whole? It is not ordinarily evident to us.

* * *

Feelings, inner sensations, and thoughts mediate between cosmic consciousness and daily behavior in man, and cultural myths and religious traditions supposedly provide an order for them which facilitates the process of rendering daily conduct an authentic expression of cosmic intention; yet when we confront ourselves sincerely we must admit that we do not search for and cannot easily find traces of the cosmic in our moment-to-moment feelings, inner sensations, or thoughts.

Nor should this surprise us. Even the most facilitative myths and traditions serve as no more than shocks and disciplines to thoughts, feelings, and postures, reminding the individual to engage in his own inquiry-in-action. Each man must once again reconcile the cosmic and the daily through himself. Only the least facilitative myths and traditions obscure this central human task and define daily life in ways which alienate it from cosmic purpose.

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At first glance it may seem peculiar that so humble a man as he who would inquire--a man who at the outset of inquiry recognizes his inability to see the cosmic traces within him, his inability to understand their meaning at the level of his thoughts and feelings, and his inability to express them authentically in his behavior--it may seem peculiar that such a man would act with the aggressiveness, strength, confidence, determination, and certitude necessary to challenge existing social patterns. But, on reconsideration, we realize that our association between inquiry and hesitance to act derives from our tradition of reflective science, from the Cartesian heritage which teaches us to separate mind from body, thought from action. Questioning in the mode of inquiry-in-action, however, is no mere passive, internal, thought process. From the outset, inquiry-in-action experiments towards congruent transformations among levels of experience, as well as consistency within a given level.

Moreover, the mere understanding and appropriation for oneself of the scale of the task of inquiry-in-action generates an extraordinary calmness, commitment, and integrity in a man, not beyond vacillation and anguish, but well beyond utter inaction towards realizing one's lifetime self. And these feelings of calm and commitment must be put to the test immediately, too, to determine what kinds of behavior congruently express them and reinforce that deepest, elusive sense of integrity.

Finally, action itself does not imply lack of humility, only arrogant action does. If we tend to associate reticence with humility, it can only be because we associate action with arrogance, with an assumption that one knows what is right once and for all. And arrogant action does, in fact, characterize social settings where inquiry-in-action is unknown. The humble testing of assumptions endangers the foundations of an arrogant social order and will therefore tend to generate political conflict, unless carried out among a few persons in seclusion. The political power of inquiry-in-action derives from its undeniable integrity.

To state this principle is not to claim that we can point to any given political act as a fully authentic realization of inquiry-in-action, yet when we review the moments of highest impact and dignity of recent aggressive political movements--whether we think of Gandhi's leadership towards the liberation of India, Mao's leadership in the continuous revolution in China, or Malcolm's leadership in the struggle of Blacks in America--we find them engaging in inquiry-in-action momentarily at least--asserting that their people are unknown subjects rather than known objects and that appropriate social settings and traditions must be developed through the suffering and joy of mutual experiments.

* * *

At the outset, he who would inquire makes no claim to positive knowledge about appropriate social settings. He knows only that settings which arrogantly claim to be appropriate absolutely and without test through inquiry-in-action cannot be appropriate for him. And he wonders and wishes to test with others whether such settings are in fact appropriate for them.

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